

TOLEDANO ON BUCKLEY ■ BEHIND THE FRANKLIN AFFAIR

OCTOBER 11, 2004

The American Conservative

THE **7** HABITS of HIGHLY EFFECTIVE IMPERIALISTS

By James P. Pinkerton



\$3.00 US / \$4.00 CANADA



www.amconmag.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRUTH TO POWER

I am a Jew and a life-long Democrat. No one in the current political landscape is making more sense and speaking truth more clearly than Patrick Buchanan in his most recent articles and new book. I am ashamed and personally embarrassed when I hear the Jewish neocons and the collective media claim “anti-Semitism” as a defense at every attack on the Likud/neocon doctrine. I am forced to admire and deeply respect Mr. Buchanan’s honesty, integrity, consistency, and courage.

THOMAS F. KORNBLUH
Bethesda, Md.

APOCALYPSE SOON

Claude Salhani’s article (Sept. 13) was sobering. Understanding full well that he presents us with a worst-case hypothesis, we are nonetheless faced with a multitude of equally distasteful scenarios in the event the international community remains unable to check Iran’s nuclear ambitions and Israel’s tendency to act unilaterally.

With respect to the former, using Richard Perle and David Frum’s book *An End to Evil* as a reference, it is not difficult to comprehend why the Iranian government may desire an insurance policy against regime change. While Tehran’s ties to al-Qaeda have never been proven, Frum, Perle, *et al.*, believe they exist. Given that President Bush has never backed away from his “axis of evil” rhetoric, a good bet can be made that the administration also believes this to be true. Thus, Bush’s sights in his next term may be upon regime change in Iran, revealing the present exercise in olive branch waving to be simply a public-relations exercise designed to show moderation in advance of the election.

With respect to the latter, Israel shows restraint where its interests so dictate. During the first Gulf War, it stood by despite Scud attacks from Iraq because its government knew that any direct involvement would be catastrophic to

the coalition. But knowing that the Americans will not risk additional lives to eliminate an Iranian nuclear program that it deems a threat, Israel may feel it has no choice but to act unilaterally, as it did in 1981. Coupled with this, the Iraq War has deprived the American government of the requisite moral authority to act as an arbiter of peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors, and the Bush administration has effectively handed the Sharon government *carte blanche* for dealing with its security concerns.

Until the Bush administration abandons belligerent rhetoric and engages the Iranian government to the satisfaction of Israel, apocalyptic scenarios like Salhani’s may be more than the stuff of imagination.

ERIC J. SMITH
Pontiac, Mich.

ALTERNATE HISTORY

The only note that doesn’t ring true in the excerpts published from Pat Buchanan’s new book (Sept. 27) is his call to “rally the troops” around George W. Bush. Ironically, in making his case, Mr. Buchanan quotes Barry Goldwater’s call in 1960 for conservatives to rally to the cause of Richard Nixon. Does he not see what would have resulted had Goldwater succeeded in this effort? A Republican administration in thrall to Nelson Rockefeller, in the vanguard of passing civil-rights legislation, creeping socialism, and abortion rights. It might have saved us from Vietnam but likely would have led us into many other costly foreign adventures.

But the worst is that it would have meant no Goldwater takeover of the party in 1964, no election-eve speech by Ronald Reagan and his sudden rise to prominence, no possibility of a “Southern strategy” in 1968 and 1972 (including no crossover by Strom Thurmond and Jesse Helms). The history of the Republican Party and the nation would have been very different from what it is today.

What a second JFK administration might offer true conservatives—the same gift we received from the first JFK—may be more important than anything else we can hope for this November: a possibility of taking back the Republican Party and, thereafter, the White House.

WILLIAM DALTON
Burlington, N.C.

FAITHFULLY YOURS

I don’t believe I am alone in being a Muslim and a regular reader of *The American Conservative*. The majority of Muslims are not only not radical, they are on the conservative side. However, for various reasons—as has happened with other minorities—many of us have ended up believing that the liberal elites are on our side. Little do we realize that the ultimate aim of these progressive intellectuals is no less than the destruction of all tradition and religion. The forces described in *The Death of the West* are not going to leave Islam alone.

The article by James Kurth (Sept. 13) is heavy going, especially for a Muslim; it can be interpreted as associating the “assault on the Christian religion” and “the driving [of] Christianity from the public square” with changes in the “ethnic structure” of America and Europe. However, my hope is that Muslims will see beyond appearances and realize that in the titanic struggle that Christianity is putting up against the forces of anarchy and anything-goes, it is in our own long-term interest to support the Christian majority rather than irreligion and immorality.

MODASER SHAH
Joplin, Mo.

The American Conservative welcomes letters to the editor. Submit by e-mail to letters@amconmag.com, by fax to 703-875-3350, or by mail to 1300 Wilson Blvd., Suite 120, Arlington, VA 22209. Please include your name, address, and phone number. We reserve the right to edit all correspondence for space and clarity.

CHRIS HIERS



[COVER]

7 Habits of Highly Effective Imperialists

BY JAMES P. PINKERTON Want to rule the world? Go native, be ruthless ... and prepare for casualties. **Page 7**

[TERROR]

New World Disorder

BY BRENDAN O'NEILL Undermining the sovereign state system to facilitate humanitarian interventionism seemed like a good idea—but the Chechen horror is one consequence. **Page 11**

[POLITICS]

Primary Patriots

BY W. JAMES ANTLE III Despite the GOP establishment's efforts to suppress them, Republican immigration reformers are making progress. **Page 14**

[INTELLIGENCE]

Behind the Franklin Affair

BY PHILIP GIRALDI The FBI's unsung battle with the Israel-firsters **Page 16**

COVER ILLUSTRATION: CHRIS HIERS

COLUMNS

6 Patrick J. Buchanan: Dead end for the Bush Doctrine

27 Paul Craig Roberts: The GOP's Dangerous Delusion

35 Taki: Equatorial Delicacies

NEWS & VIEWS

4 Fourteen Days: Guess Who Has a Double Standard on Chechnya; Gun-Controllers Take Their Stupid Pill; Green Cards for Bug-Eaters

ARTICLES

19 Ian Fletcher: The coming fracture of the free-trade coalition

21 James Bovard: Patriot Act powers are already being abused

24 Mark Gauvreau Judge: Drunk on recovery

25 James L. Payne: One child left behind

ARTS & LETTERS

28 Steve Sailer: Dubya on the silver screen

29 Ralph de Toledano: *Miles Gone By* by William F. Buckley Jr.

31 Wayne Merry: *Colossus: The Price of America's Empire* by Niall Ferguson

33 Gene Callahan: *Kepler's Witch* by James A. Connor

[WORLD]

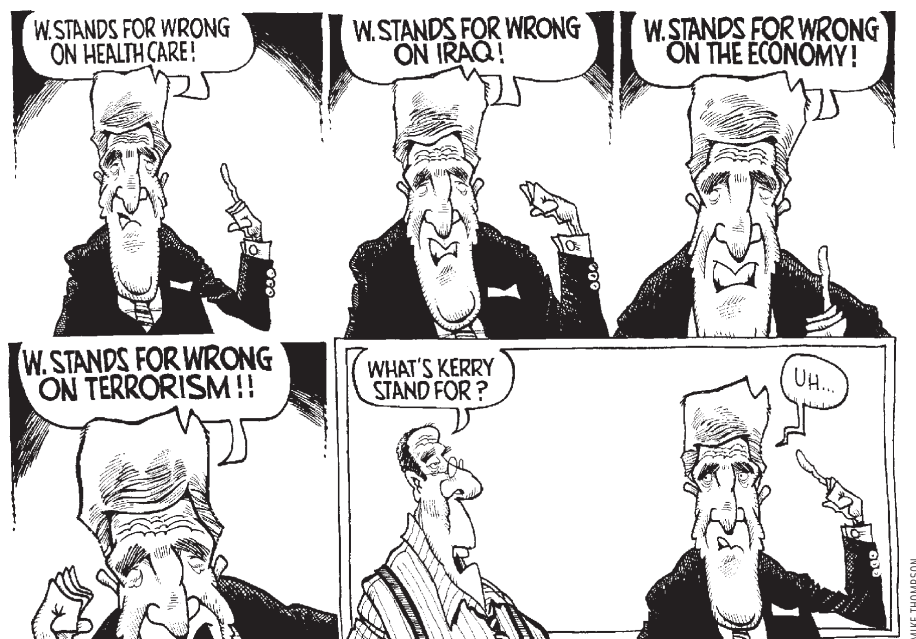
SELECTIVE APPEASEMENT

TAC has not editorialized on the Chechnya conflict and feels relieved that this horrific war falls well beyond any obvious American realm of interest. But some Americans—those who formed the American Committee for Peace in Chechnya—have a very clear view of what should be done to resolve the Chechen struggle, recently in the news after the slaughter of Russian children in Beslan. The ACPF calls for Russia to give Chechnya independence. The group claims it is “a myth” that Chechens are terrorists, “a myth” that they are Islamic fundamentalists. One of its members recently wrote a tender plea in the *New York Times*, in response to the Chechen massacre of Russian schoolchildren: “Give the Chechens a Land of their Own.”

Who are these bleeding-heart advocates of negotiating with Islamic terrorists and then rewarding them with sovereignty? Michael Moore, perhaps? Alexander Cockburn? Nope. The ACPF is a largely neocon organization: its big guns include Norman Podhoretz, Midge Decter, Elliott Abrams, Richard Perle, James Woolsey, Frank Gaffney, Joshua Muravchik, Bill Kristol—the gang’s all there.

It’s not that their analysis of the Chechnya situation is necessarily stupid: De Gaulle did end the Algerian war by conceding Algeria independence, and independence would solve this problem (though perhaps create others). It’s the selective way the argument is used. Put forth the idea that Israel ought to learn a lesson from France’s Algerian occupation and grant the Palestinians an independent state, and you know what the neoconservatives will say (or what AIPAC will do, if you’re an elected official).

So the neocon enthusiasm for trying to appease these particular terrorists



through negotiation deserves an explanation. Our colleague Steve Sailer has suggested a few on his isteve.com blog: Leftover anti-Sovietism? Extremely leftover anti-Czarism? Because Putin threw one of AEI’s big donors in the clink?

It’s a puzzle, and we’d welcome reader suggestions.

[POLITICS]

AK-47 WMD

Osama bin Laden occupied two-thirds of page A5 in the Sept. 10 *New York Times*. Were there new developments in the manhunt? No, quite the opposite. This was an advertisement proclaiming, in 80-point type above bin Laden’s grim visage, “Terrorists of 9/11 can hardly wait for 9/13”—when the 1994 assault-weapons ban was set to expire.

“That means any terrorist in the U.S. will be free to walk into any gun shop and buy an AK-47, Uzi or other rapid-fire military-style killing machine,” the ad from the Brady Campaign to Prevent Gun Violence claimed. “Who in this day and age would give society’s worst killers—terrorists, drug dealers, violent gangs—the means to commit mass murder in a matter of seconds?”

Never mind the background checks. (If a terrorist does try to buy a semi-automatic weapon, he’s going to be detected, assuming these checks have any effect at all.) Never mind that according to the Associated Press, “Gun shop owners said the expiration ... will

have little effect on the types of guns and accessories that are typically sold ...” Never mind all that—this was an opportunity to make a buck off the mass murder of 9/11, and that’s just what the Brady Campaign did. Gun-control lobbyists may not be terrorists, but clearly they know a thing or two about using terror for their own political and financial advancement.

[ECONOMICS]

WE CAN’T ALL WORK AT WAL-MART

Council of Economic Advisers Chairman Gregory Mankiw—who set off a political firestorm by stating, “Outsourcing is just a new way of doing international trade”—had better reach for his Maalox. A Nobel Prize winning economist—and one of Mankiw’s former professors—is about to break with the economists’ code of *omerta* and pronounce a heresy: free trade, and outsourcing in particular, is not always good for America. Paul Samuelson, 89-year-old professor emeritus at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, makes the case in a forthcoming article for the *Journal of Economic Perspectives*. As he tells the *New York Times*, “being able to purchase groceries 20 percent cheaper at Wal-Mart does not necessarily make up for wage losses.”

Wage losses, that is, from the outsourcing of high-tech jobs to India, China, and elsewhere, and the relentless

erosion of America's manufacturing base. Samuelson calls the idea that free trade always produces a net benefit a "popular polemical untruth" and "only an innuendo." This is high treason to the Greenspans and Mankiws of the world. Before Samuelson's article has even seen print, three other economists—Arvind Panagariya, Jagdish Bhagwati, and T.N. Srinivasan—have already sent an attempt at refuting some of its points to the *JEP*.

Economic orthodoxy since the days of David Ricardo has said that free trade benefits everyone by encouraging an efficient division of labor. But this is not necessarily so, says Samuelson: outsourcing can flood America's high-tech labor market with low-wage engineers and programmers from the Third World, more than offsetting the benefits. "If you don't believe that changes the average wages in America," he says, "then you believe in the tooth fairy."

[IMMIGRATION] **PRIZES AMERICANS WON'T WIN**

Contestants eat worms and leap from speeding trucks. But this isn't MTV's "Jackass" or NBC's "Fear Factor." It's "Gana la Verde"—"Win the Green!"—the hottest new show on Latino television. The *Washington Times* says it's the second-most-watched program among Hispanics aged 18 to 49 in the Los Angeles area.

Maybe there's no good reason why Hispanic television should not be just as demeaning and vulgar as Anglo programming. But unlike its mainstream antecedents, "Gana la Verde" is not just a gross-out. It's also a chance to immigrate to America. The prize is a green card—or rather, the services of an immigration lawyer who will help the winner get one.

Immigration enthusiasts tell us what great entrepreneurial skills all newcom-

ers, no matter how humble, bring to this land. But we have to wonder just how many worm-eaters—even champion worm-eaters—this country really needs.

[MEDIA]

YOUR CHOICE: AMNESTY

In *The Revolt of the Elites*, Christopher Lasch wrote, "[T]he new elites, the professional classes in particular, regard the masses with mingled scorn and apprehension." That disdain was on full display at NBC's "Today Show" last week after a viewers' poll revealed that illegal immigration ranked among voters' top electoral concerns. Welcome to fly-over country, Ms. Couric.

"Middle Americans, as they appear to the makers of educated opinion," Lasch wrote, "are hopelessly shabby, unfashionable, and provincial, ill informed about changes in taste or intellectual trends. ... They are at once absurd and vaguely menacing." "Today" decided to remedy that backwardness over breakfast. Rather than addressing the issue prioritized by viewers, producers set out to disabuse them of apparent xenophobia. They opened with a eulogy for illegals who die while attempting to cross the border, followed by a comparison of Bush and Kerry's amnesty plans, concluding that Kerry would do more to address illegal immigration because his amnesty is more generous.

The segment said little about the issue—indeed, it missed the whole point by suggesting that illegal immigration could be fixed by broader legalization schemes—but it spoke volumes about elite media condescension. Either the program couldn't fathom any objection to low-cost nannies and gardeners, so assumed that viewers had misunderstood the question, or "Today" thinks that it owes its ratings to a band of racists. Stupid or evil, take your pick—just don't quit watching and remember to vote Democratic. ■

The American Conservative

Editors

**Patrick J. Buchanan
Taki Theodoracopulos**

Executive Editor
Scott McConnell

Managing Editor
Kara Hopkins

Assistant Editors
**W. James Antle III
Daniel McCarthy**

Art Director
Mark Graef

Film Critic
Steve Sailer

Office Manager
Veronica Yanos

Publishing Consultant
Ronald E. Burr

Contributing Editors

**Doug Bandow, Richard Cummings, Michael Desch,
Philip Giraldi, Paul Gottfried, Peter Hitchens,
Christopher Layne, Eric S. Margolis, Justin Raimondo,
Fred Reed, Martin Sieff, R.J. Stove, John Zmirak**

The American Conservative, Vol. 3, No. 19, October 11, 2004 (ISSN 1540-966X). Reg. U.S. Pat. & Tm. Off. TAC is published 24 times per year, biweekly (except for January and August) for \$49.97 per year by The American Conservative, LLC, 1300 Wilson Blvd., Suite 120, Arlington, VA, 22209. Periodicals postage paid at Arlington, VA, and additional mailing offices. Printed in the United States of America. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *The American Conservative*, P.O. Box 9030, Maple Shade, NJ 08052-9030.

Subscription rates: \$49.97 per year (24 issues) in the U.S., \$54.97 in Canada (U.S. funds), and \$69.97 other foreign (U.S. funds). Back issues: \$6.00 (prepaid) per copy in USA, \$7.00 in Canada (U.S. funds).

For subscription orders, payments, and other subscription inquiries—

By phone: **800-579-6148**
(outside the U.S./Canada 856-488-5321)

Via Web: www.amconmag.com

By mail: *The American Conservative*, P.O. Box 9030, Maple Shade, NJ 08052-9030

When ordering a subscription please allow 4–6 weeks for delivery of your first issue and all subscription transactions.

Inquiries and letters the editor should be sent to letters@amconmag.com. For advertising sales/editorial call 703-875-7600.

This issue went to press on September 16, 2004.
Copyright 2004 *The American Conservative*.

The Axis of Evil Defies the Empire

Just days after the debacle at the Bay of Pigs in April of '61, Barry Goldwater went to visit his old friend in the White House. Finding the Oval Office empty as he

entered, Barry spied the famous rocking chair JFK used for his bad back. Delightedly, he sat down and began to rock away. When JFK walked in and saw Barry in his chair, he blurted out, "Barry, do you want this @#%& job?"

Reading the papers this morning, George W. Bush can likely sympathize with JFK. For, if re-elected, the president will face in November grave crises and decisions that could affect the security of his nation for years to come.

"At Least 80 Civilians Die in Iraqi Violence," is the lead headline in today's *Washington Post*. Subhead: "U.S. Helicopter Fires on Crowd in Baghdad." Twenty-seven were killed in orchestrated suicide car bombings and mortar attacks, even before a U.S. helicopter fired on a disabled Bradley vehicle about which Iraqi men and boys were celebrating.

In August, 1,000 U.S. soldiers were wounded, and American war dead passed 1,000. Estimates of enemy fighters have risen fourfold over 18 months. The incidence of attacks continues to rise. Fallujah and Ramadi are now "no-go" zones for U.S. troops. Sadr City is less pacified than that May morning Bush gave his victory address aboard the *Lincoln* under the banner "Mission Accomplished."

U.S. journalists who used to travel about Iraq no longer do. The kidnappings and beheadings have concentrated the mind wonderfully. By Rumsfeld's "metrics"—Are we creating more enemy fighters than we are killing?—we are not winning this war. We are holding on.

If Bush wins, he will face his moment of truth. Does he permit enemy base camps like Fallujah, from which attacks are daily plotted and dispatched, to exist? Does he order U.S. forces to clean them out, no matter the cost in blood and ruin? Does he have the forces in country to win? Or must he go to the nation and explain that the victory we thought had been won cannot be achieved without 50,000 or 100,000 more troops?

Another decision the president will face is what to do about Iran. Having seen what happened next door to a nation that defied Bush but did not have nuclear weapons, Iran may have decided to follow North Korea's example and acquire them. No one knows how close Iran is to compiling the necessary quantity of enriched uranium for a bomb, but Israel and the neocons are pushing Bush to strike Tehran's nuclear facilities now. Calling an Iranian bomb an "existential threat," Israel is hinting that should the Americans get cold feet, they will go in and do the job themselves.

An American or Israeli strike on Iran would instantly escalate the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq as Tehran sent "volunteers" into those countries to exact retribution. Hezbollah would be cut loose on Israel. We and Israel would then be facing Islamic warriors and Arab and Iranian nationalist fighters from the borders of Pakistan to the border of Jordan. And how might that expanded

war impact the price of oil? One assassin's bullet, and President Musharraf, who has dodged several, could be gone, converting Pakistan with its arsenal of atomic weapons, overnight, from friend to foe.

Then there is North Korea. According to Condi Rice, that huge fire near the Chinese border was not the test of an atom bomb. Others say it may have been an accidental detonation in a missile storage facility or of explosives that might be used to trigger an atom bomb. North Korea says it was the planned clearing of a mountaintop. In any event, Kim Jong-Il may already possess a nuclear bomb and the ability to deliver it, and some predict as an October surprise a nuclear test to capture Bush's attention before Nov. 2.

Under the Bush Doctrine, neither Iran nor North Korea are to be permitted to acquire weapons of mass destruction. But both seem willing to defy him and accept the risks rather wait for America to do to them what we did to Iraq. With U.S. forces stretched thin, Bush must be wondering how we can possibly escalate or expand our wars in the Near and Middle East without calling up the reserves or going to a draft. Will the American people, half of whom now think Iraq was a mistake, be up for it? One wonders if Bush ever asks himself who got him into this, who told him to issue public ultimatums to three axis-of-evil nations at once.

Even if the president wins in November and ash-cans the lot of them, the neocons may yet have managed to ignite the war of civilizations they plotted for so long. Perhaps they were not the "harmless persuasion" after all. ■

[go native, young man]

7 Habits of Highly Effective Imperialists

Self-help for those who oppose self-rule

By James P. Pinkerton

IN 1990, Stephen Covey published *The 7 Habits of Highly Effective People*. A business-oriented self-help book, the volume was a huge bestseller and is still in print today. During the same decade-and-a-half, the American economy grew hugely. A coincidence? Perhaps not.

Let's face it: our crusade to extend the benefits of Americanism to the rest of the world, especially the Middle East, has *not* been Effective. Now clearly it's time to work Covey's magic on Uncle Sam's faltering imperial effort. Here's what think-tank tigers need to know, the 7 Habits of Highly Effective Imperialists:

1. Be serious about your imperialism —the Great Game is not for dilettantes.

Thrilling to accounts of the Battle of Plassey, savoring the Sykes-Picot agreement, taking in seminars at AEI—that's not good enough. Here's how the *Los Angeles Times* recently described Doug Feith, undersecretary of defense and leading neo-imperialist, in his home: "sitting in his library surrounded by stacks of *Commentary* magazines and books on the British empire and the Middle East." In other words, an armchair war-

rior—literally. Is it any wonder Feith has been Ineffective?

By contrast, the Highly Effective Imperialist gets off his fanny and "goes native." We might consider, for example, Richard Francis Burton—now he was Effective. In the days before jets or mints on your hotel room pillow, Burton made his way across five continents. He helped discover the source of the Nile; he was one of the first Westerners to visit Mecca, disguised as an Afghan Muslim. Yet in addition to all his journeys, in addition to writing a half-dozen books and innumerable monographs on people and places, he also learned the local languages; he translated works from Arabic and Hindi, notably the *Kama Sutra* and *The Arabian Nights*. Not surprisingly, Burton saw little of England during his adult life—he died in Trieste in 1890—which is to say, Burton lived out the self-sacrificing injunction of Rudyard Kipling: "Take up the White Man's burden/Send forth the best ye breed/Go bind your sons to exile/To serve your captives' need."

If Americans are serious about imperialism, they will make a massive commitment to teaching little Justin and Jennifer the tongues of their new realms:

Arabic, Pashtu, Dari, Farsi, Urdu, etc. And then, even more important, they will steel their children for lifetimes of overseas service.

Of course, Effective Imperialists must combine ethnic and linguistic "ground truth" with high Machiavellianism. To keep control of India, for example, the British cultivated the Sikhs as a ruling elite. Why? Because the Sikhs were a tiny minority. Once they were installed in the upper reaches of the Raj, the Sikhs were anxious for the Brits to stay, so as to preserve their top-dog status. That approach proved Effective for a century.

By contrast, today, is there any American clever enough to see the wisdom of dividing Iraq into three parts, so as to make all three mini-states—Sunni, Shia, Kurd—dependent on the U.S. for border protection? Evidently not. And in any case, we're still fighting two out of three of these groups 18 months after liberating them. Feith & Co. navigated by "moral clarity," not by historical or political landmarks. According to an August report in *Rolling Stone*, one U.S. Army colonel, a veteran of Middle East work, fluent in Arabic, was interviewed by Feith for a possible job. During the session, Feith

looked down at his résumé, “I see you speak Arabic,” Feith said. When the colonel nodded, Feith snapped, “too bad” and dismissed him. To make matters worse, the Feithians appointed their unskilled friends and relatives—Michael Fleischer (brother of Ari) and Simone Ledeen (daughter of Michael)—to prominent positions in the Coalition Provisional Authority. After a few months of sightseeing and war profiteering, such folks have mostly come home—*not* Effective.

2. Get the locals to like you.

This is hard, I know. It’s counterintuitive to expect that the people you’re killing will give you their hearts and minds. In the words of Voltaire, “It would be easier to subjugate the entire universe through force of arms than the minds of a single village.”

It took the British two difficult decades to subdue the Sudanese Muslims in the late 19th century, but by the mid-20th century, Sudan had gained its independence—and also great hostility to the West. Other British colonial non-success stories include Zimbabwe, which is one of the few countries where London is hated more than Washington. We might also recall that the British “liberated” Iraq twice in the last century, in 1917 and in 1941. And what do they have to show for the gravestones they left behind in Mesopotamia?

Today, it’s the Americans’ turn to score low as colonizers. One poll taken this spring showed that 92 percent of Iraqis saw Americans as occupiers; just two percent saw them as liberators. As George W. Bush himself conceded on April 13, “I wouldn’t be happy if I were occupied either.” During the Athens Olympics last month, the Bush-Cheney campaign sought to make re-election hay out of the Iraq soccer team’s suc-

cess; yet an Iraqi player cut the Rovers off at midfield, telling the Americans: “We want to live. Stop killing civilians. Help rebuild Iraq instead of destroying it.” We might call this Mission Not Accomplished.

So what to do? Once again, the Effective Imperialist looks to what’s worked in the past. England and Scotland had fought each other for eons—“Braveheart” and all that—but they merged in 1603 when James VI of Scotland inherited the English crown and became James I of England. Four centuries later, the relationship still works. So today, if some rising young buck in the Bush dynasty went to Iraq, married a girl named Sistani, embraced Shia Islam, and brought the new Mrs. Bush home to social and political prominence, that would be the beginning of a beautiful transnational friendship. A future American president with a *Shari’a*-worthy beard might not please American neocons, but he would be Effective at earning Iraqi allegiance.

3. Be ruthless.

If Habit #2 doesn’t work, then try Habit #3. We might consider, for example, the Effectiveness Lesson in the Book of Samuel. God said to Saul: “Now go and smite Amalek, and utterly destroy all that they have, and spare them not; but slay both man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass.” But while Saul mostly followed the Lord’s commandment, he spared a few folks and critters. God was outraged at this insufficient ruthlessness. As future-king Samuel explained to soon-to-be-ex-king Saul, “Thou hast rejected the word of the Lord, and the Lord hath rejected thee from being king over Israel.” So Samuel had to mop up, completing the earth-scorching. Now that’s Effective-ness.

Similarly, when the Romans wanted to be rid of troublesome Carthage once and for all, they flattened the city and plowed the leveled ground with salt. *Carthago was truly delenda*, and it hasn’t been heard from since.

More recently, when white Americans and Australians wanted to Manifest their Destiny over their respective continents, they mostly massacred the aboriginal peoples, occasionally deigning to miscegenate with them. The Chinese are using equally Effective tactics in Tibet today. In geopolitics, possession-by-domination is nine-tenths of the law; demography is political destiny.

In the meantime, after 213 years of attempted subjugation, the Russians are still Ineffective in Chechnya. Vladimir Putin might be asking himself, “WWSD”—What Would Stalin Do? And the answer to that question might well be: total wipeout, by any WMD necessary. Note to other countries dealing with uppity populations: it’s genocide, but it’s been proven Effective.

4. Got allies? You’ll need some.

The Venetian Republic lasted for a thousand years because the doges were wily enough to use mercenaries and surrogates in their endless wars with their fellow Italians, then Byzantines, then Ottoman Turks. For their part, the British didn’t succeed in taking down Louis XIV, Napoleon, the Kaiser, and Hitler all by themselves. For centuries, London built balance-of-power coalitions that enabled Albion to preserve its sea power, while not getting bogged down in losing ground wars.

Similarly, when the U.S. has had allies—from World War I to Gulf War I to Kosovo to Afghanistan—the fighting has generally been Effective. But America’s more unilateral wars, such as Vietnam and Gulf War II, have been Ineffective.



CHRIS HIER'S

Having allies helps in other ways, too—especially if you have an ogre for an ally. The American occupation of Germany and Japan was eased by the menacing specter of the Soviets, just across the Elbe and the East Sea. The message was clear: if the surrendered Germans and Japanese ever became too troublesome, the Americans would exit and the Red Army would enter. No wonder we were so Effective.

In the case of occupied Iraq today, suppose Turkey or Iran had invaded the country at the same time as American forces. By now the American sector might well seem like paradise compared to the Turkish or Iranian sector. Plus those occupiers would be no-nonsense in their “pacification”—see Habit #3, above.

5. Be realistic.

Politics is the art of the possible, said Bismarck. In the same vein, the Effective Imperialist doesn't over-promise.

In 2003, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace did a study of the 16 major “nation-building” efforts conducted by the U.S. and found that just four—Germany, Japan, Grenada in 1983, Panama in 1989—had been Effective. The other 12, stretched from Haiti to Nicaragua to South Vietnam, were Ineffective.

The basic lesson is that culture matters most. The Germans, for example, proved capable of utter barbarism under Nazi rule, but after having lost eight million in the war—see Habit #3 again—they were ready, post-1945, to change their ways and resume being a “normal” European country again. So Germany proved peaceful and prosperous, just like its neighbors; the death of Hitler helped restore the nation to the generally upward trend line of its neighborhood. It was good news that the Germans blended back into their environment, but it was also not surprising—Europe is a civilization.

Arab Islam is a civilization, too. And it's not surprising that Iraq seems to be

reverting to its neighborhood trend line, which, of course, is not auspicious for American dreams of a “democratic transformation” of Iraq.

To put it another way, Islam is a tough nut to crack. Nowhere in the world, except maybe Attica prison, does a white minority rule successfully over a Muslim majority, which leads us to the Sixth Habit of Effective Imperialists.

6. Leave quickly—and set up a puppet government.

In July 1958, President Dwight Eisenhower ordered 14,000 U.S. Marines to go ashore in Lebanon to prop up the U.S.-backed government. Three months later, having accomplished that mission, they all pulled out; exactly one American was killed by hostile fire. By contrast, when President Ronald Reagan ordered the Marines back into Lebanon in August 1982, he kept them there for 18 months—and 254 Leathernecks lost their lives amidst growing resistance. Today, we have been in Afghanistan for

almost three years, and in Iraq for 18 months. It's safe to say that we aren't growing more popular in either place.

Instead, the Effective Imperialist uses surrogates for long-term country-control. The Shah, for example, gave us 26 good years of sway in Iran, although admittedly the 25 years since his fall in 1979 have been disappointing. But the search for new tools—human tools—continues.

And so on to Baghdad. In October 2002, the Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz* reported that Rep. Tom Lantos, ranking Democrat on the House International Affairs Committee, had soothed a visiting Israeli politician with these assurances about the future of Iraq: "My dear Collette, don't worry. You won't have any problem with Saddam. We'll be rid of the bastard soon enough. And in his place we'll install a pro-Western dictator, who will be good for you and good for us." Enter Ahmad Chalabi. Exit Ahmad Chalabi. And while Chalabi did not meet expectations, Iyad Allawi is showing he's tough—tough on press freedom at least. And while it might not be prudent to write a life-insurance policy for the new Iraqi strongman, it's possible that he will survive and thrive.

But whether or not Allawi makes it, Americans on the home front should develop a taste for hummus and biryani. Just as curry and couscous are national dishes of Britain and France today, thanks to the recasting of their populations as a byproduct of conquest, Americans, too, should prepare for demographic and culinary transition. Today, the difference between the colonizer and the colonized isn't just firepower—it's birthrates. One way or another, lots of Iraqis are going to end up in the U.S.; Allawi himself may live and die in his homeland, but lots of his friends and relatives will find new homes—next door to the late Shah's kin and cronies, maybe in Beverly Hills.

Of course, not every Iraqi coming to the American "mother country" will be carrying a suitcase stuffed with cash. Some will be carrying other things in their bags, which brings us to the seventh and last point in our Effectiveness tutorial.

7. Brace yourself for tragedy. It's coming.

At the height of Roman Imperial Effectiveness, the poet Juvenal wrote plangently, "The country weeps for its victories." A study by the Cato Institute counted 98 wars and military campaigns waged by the British from 1800 to 1906. Kipling, the bard of imperialism, poetized the fate of many of his countrymen: "When you're wounded and left on Afghanistan's plains/And the women come out to cut up what remains/Jest roll to your rifle and blow out your brains/An' go to your Gawd like a soldier."

Sometimes, the tragedy comes later to the Imperial Country. After the fall of the Bastille in 1789, the young minds of Europe were aflame with thoughts of revolutionary restructuring. Nowhere was enthusiasm for the *Aufklärung* greater than among German intellectuals. As the historian Isaiah Berlin observed, "Almost without exception, they began by welcoming the French Revolution rapturously, planting trees of liberty and denouncing as obsolete and brutally oppressive the rule of the three hundred German princes."

But then the dialectical wheel turned, as the French overplayed their hand. "Horried by the Terror and wounded by the national humiliation of Germany by the armies of Revolutionary France and, still more, those of Napoleon," those same Germans, Berlin continued, "turned into patriots, reactionaries and romantic irrationalists." One such was Beethoven. Living at the time in Vienna,

the young composer intended to dedicate his Third Symphony to Napoleon, but after the French leader crowned himself emperor in 1804, he tore up the "Eroica" dedication. Less than a decade later, Beethoven composed a celebratory piece entitled "Wellington's Victory."

And so the fervent Francophiles of not-yet-Germany were transformed into even more fervent Francophobes. Most likely, Napoleon went to his grave in 1821 without thinking much about the deep geysers of sentiment he had helped uncork. But the unifying Germans thought deeply about their humiliation and insult; for half a century they brooded and plotted. And then in 1870, 1914, and 1940, they crossed the Rhine, each time wreaking horrible vengeance and violence.

In contemporary Iraq, our brave troops might be holding up well, but they aren't just filling up future pages of glorious American military history. They are also unintentionally collaborating in the composition of future sagas of Sunni and Shia martyrdom. Today, the fighting in Iraq is asymmetrical: our F-16s, their AK-47s. But tomorrow, the asymmetrical action could shift to America: their WMD, our cities. That's called "blow-back," and it's a darn nuisance.

To date, Americans have been Effective at spending money in Iraq, and little else. But it's not too late to learn the Seven Habits of Imperial Effectiveness. If Americans are prepared to live—indeed, to die—by those Habits, we can look forward, at least, to pacifying Fallujah. ■

James P. Pinkerton is a columnist for Newsday and a fellow at the New America Foundation in Washington, D.C. He served in the White House under Presidents Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush.

[lesson of beslan]

New World Disorder

How liberal interventions spawned a new terrorism

By Brendan O'Neill

COMMENTATORS ARE DESPERATELY trying to make sense of what seems like senseless brutality in Beslan. But they are attempting to force those events into political categories into which they simply will not fit. Some have located the school siege in the broader bloody clash between Chechen nationalists and the Russian state. Others have rushed to blame Russian President Vladimir Putin, arguing that the siege is a tragic blow-back for his strongman tactics. Yet taking hostage an entire school makes little sense as a nationalist strike against a military aggressor or as a tactic for weakening Russian rule in the Caucasus. Instead, the school siege looks more like a murderous stunt, an al-Qaeda-esque assault designed to provoke fear and outrage rather than to realize any discernible political aim.

Too many want to understand Beslan through traditional political and military frameworks. But there is something new going on here. The kind of violence visited on Beslan is not rooted in Chechnya or in any traditional nationalism; rather, like the attacks of 9/11, this is a rootless terrorism, dislocated from political, military, or national norms, with no clear motivation and little compunction about killing civilians.

For obvious reasons, Russia is keen to situate Beslan within the international War on Terror, effectively claiming that the siege was the work of al-

Qaeda. Putin's al-Qaeda talk is clearly opportunistic; his aim is to distract from his repressive policies in Chechnya since a second war was launched there in 1999 (the first war having taken place under Boris Yeltsin from 1994 to 1996). Thus, Russian officials talk up the alleged mix of foreigners who took part in the attack. A North Ossetian spokesman initially claimed that 10 of the estimated 30 to 35 hostage-takers were Arabs; a Russian official said the hostage-takers were made up of Chechens, Ingush, Arabs, Kazakhs, and Slavs. Yet now some argue that there were no Arabs, but rather that the dead hostage-takers' charred faces were mistaken for dark skin. According to Sergei Ivanov, Russia's defense minister, not a single Chechen has been found among the 32 dead terrorists, raising questions about earlier attempts to explain Beslan as a straightforward "Chechen issue."

There is no doubt that the Chechen separatist movement has become internationalized over the past decade, with mujaheddin fighters and wannabe jihadists arriving from the Balkans, Afghanistan, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, and even Britain and France; and this influx of jihadists has certainly helped to "Islamicize" Chechen separatism. Loretta Napoleoni notes in *Modern Jihad: Tracing the Dollars Behind the Terror Networks* that in the vacuum created by the collapse of the

Chechen state following the first war, mujaheddin "warlords and armed groups blossomed ... modifying Chechnya's secular resistance into radical fundamentalism." But the arrival of the mujaheddin in Chechnya is a symptom of a far bigger problem. It is not that Arabs and others arrived in Chechnya and brought everything downhill; rather, the movement of such forces into Chechnya speaks to a broader global instability and collapse of state authority, which has nourished today's disparate terror groups from Afghanistan to Sudan to the Caucasus.

The missing link in the debates about terrorism, about the shift from the more politically oriented violence of the past to the blindly ruthless attacks of today, is the West's foreign interventions of the 1990s. It is by examining these that we can start to make sense of today's seemingly senseless terror. Such interventions, particularly in the Balkans, did much to create the conditions for the rise of the new stateless groups that are so different from old-style nationalist movements.

The end of the Cold War gave birth to new rounds of Western intervention in the Third World—interventions that were justified as defending beleaguered peoples against ruthless dictators and upholding human rights across the globe. From Operation Restore Hope in Somalia in 1993, to the dropping of bombs

to bring “peace” to the Balkans in the mid-90s, to Bill Clinton and Tony Blair’s Kosovo war of 1999, the battles over territory and influence that defined the Cold War period were replaced with new wars that would, we were told, liberate people from tyranny.

Yet for all its stated aims, humanitarian intervention powerfully destabilized the world order, undermining the institutions that had lent coherence to the international system in the postwar period. At the heart of the new humanitarianism there was a distinct hostility to the sovereign nation-state, which had been the building block of international affairs for nearly 50 years. The Clinton administration, king of the humanitarian age, made clear its disdain for the old idea of non-intervention in sovereign states’ affairs. In the early 1990s, Clinton adviser Strobe Talbott outlined the administration’s preferred approach to world affairs: “Nationhood as we know it will be obsolete. All states will recognize a single global authority A phrase that was briefly fashionable in the mid-twentieth century—citizen of the world—will have assumed real meaning by the end of the twentieth century.”

AT THE HEART OF THE NEW HUMANITARIANISM THERE WAS A DISTINCT HOSTILITY TO THE SOVEREIGN NATION-STATE, WHICH HAD BEEN THE BUILDING BLOCK OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS FOR NEARLY 50 YEARS.

In 1994, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights declared, “the mission of the United Nations to uphold human dignity and human rights globally transcends national borders.” In the new world order, local state authority was out and global interventionism was in.

In undermining state authority, humanitarianism created the space for the rise of non-state actors—and it

encouraged their movement across borders. This double impact of Western interventionism reached its zenith in the Balkans. From the start of the 1990s, outside intervention in the Balkans internationalized local tensions. German recognition of the Croat and Slovene republics in 1991, Russian backing of the Serbs, American recognition of the republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1992 and support for the Bosnian Muslim side—all of this transformed Yugoslavia’s internal political differences into heated international issues, paving the way for a prolonged war. Western meddling ruptured Yugoslavia’s internal structures, while ensuring that external pressures were increasingly brought to bear on the region. As part of this destabilizing process, the U.S. permitted the movement of mujaheddin forces from the Middle East and Central Asia to fight alongside the Bosnian Muslims against the Serbs.

In 1993, as documented in David Halberstam’s seminal *War In a Time of Peace: Bush, Clinton and the Generals*, President Clinton gave a “green light” to the arming of the Bosnian Muslims by Iran and Saudi Arabia, even though this

defied a UN embargo against arming any side in the Yugoslav conflict. From 1993 to 1996 there was an influx of weapons and military advisers into Bosnia, largely organized by Iranian and Saudi officials. This opened the floodgates to the arrival of mujaheddin fighters from Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Algeria, and elsewhere to fight with the Bosnian Muslims. All of this took place

under the watchful eye of a Clintonian policy of “no instruction”—in short, such movements should not be interfered with and, if possible, should be encouraged.

It is unclear how many mujaheddin were active in Bosnia. Estimates vary from 600 to 4,000. According to the House Republican Policy Committee, in a statement critical of the Clinton administration issued on April 26, 1996, “eight flights a month packed with thousands of tons of arms and ammunition either originating in Iran or purchased and shipped with Iranian backing” arrived in Zagreb destined for the Bosnian Muslims and also for the Croats, and Iran played a role in “station[ing] from 3,000 to 4,000 revolutionary guards [mujaheddin] in Bosnia.”

The opening of Yugoslavia to mujaheddin forces wrote the script for future movements into Chechnya. Indeed, European intelligence officials claim that Bosnia, where some mujaheddin forces set up training camps following the end of hostilities in 1996, has become a “one-stop shop for Islamic militants,” for those moving both to and from Chechnya.

As Napoleoni documents in *Modern Jihad*, in Chechnya in the early 1990s “the Islamist insurgency had relied mainly on foreign sponsors and domestic smuggling.” By 1995, after the Bosnian experience, Chechen forces were being assisted and armed by “the International Islamic Relief Organization, a Saudi-based charity funded by mosques and wealthy donors in the Gulf” and also by Pakistan. During this period, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, and Iran also played a role in “funding the spread of Islamist armed groups in the region.” Iranian and Saudi officials seem to have taken the American “green light” to mean that the sponsorship of mujaheddin forces across state borders was as legitimate in Chechnya as it was in the Balkans.

The West continued to allow the growth and movement of mujaheddin forces in Europe towards the end of the 1990s. At the time, in the run-up to the Kosovo war, the U.S. backed the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) against Serbia. According to a 1998 report in the *Jerusalem Post*, the KLA had been “provided with financial and military support from Islamic countries,” and had been “bolstered by hundreds of mujaheddin ... [some of whom] were trained in Osama bin Laden’s terrorist camps in Afghanistan.” There were links also between the Western-backed KLA and Chechen separatists.

Since 9/11, the U.S. State Department and European officials have fretted about the consequences of the movement of mujaheddin forces into Europe. The State Department is concerned that Bosnia-Herzegovina has become a “staging area and safe haven for terrorists,” including “extremists with ties to bin Laden.” Some may now be looking at Russia after the Beslan school siege and asking what the hell they have unleashed; they will no doubt support the Russian government’s condemnation of foreign and Arab extremists in Chechnya. Yet targeting individual Arabs and attempting to rein in those forces unleashed in the 1990s will do little to bring peace to Chechnya or the Balkans. The underlying problem is contemporary Western intervention and its corrosive impact rather than handfuls of mad Arabs.

Western officials wring their hands over the atrocity in Beslan, carried out by a terror group that seems irrational and without restraint. Yet such terror networks are the product of the West’s undermining of its own postwar international framework during the humanitarian era. The old national liberation and nationalist movements reflected a world organized around the principles of sovereign equality and state authority;



AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE

today’s terror networks hold a mirror to the West’s self-destructive assault on state sovereignty and the integrity of borders in the post-Cold War world. Where the old world order, for all its vast faults, gave rise to movements that sought to create their own states, the new world order has encouraged the emergence of distinctly stateless groups, not tied to any specific community or political goal.

Freed from responsibility to a distinct community, with little tie to national territory or political principles, today’s roving terrorist has fewer constraints on his actions. In the absence of conventional political structures that might define and direct a violent campaign, the new terrorists have little compunction. As Jonathan Tucker of the Monterey Institute of International Affairs has argued, because these terrorists “are not motivated by political ideology on the far left or right,” they are more likely to be “extremists ... with an apocalyptic mindset.”

The mujaheddin was created and financed in the 1980s by the Right to take on the Soviets in Afghanistan—that last gasp of the Cold War. In the 1990s,

the baton was passed to the Left. Mujaheddin forces effectively became the armed wing of Western liberal opinion, moving across borders to fight what politicians and liberal commentators in the West considered “good wars.” It was the internationalization of local conflicts by Western governments that encouraged the internationalization of the mujaheddin, transforming what had been a specific Afghan-based phenomenon into an effectively global force.

The same politicians and commentators who applauded the interventions of the 1990s—some of whom wrote glowing accounts of the “brave” and “cool” mujaheddin in Western newspapers during the Yugoslav and Kosovo wars—are as shocked as everyone else by the Beslan school siege. But perhaps, as well as condemning those who attacked innocent children and their parents, they should also examine their earlier support for “humanitarian intervention” and their continuing support for Western interference abroad. ■

Brendan O’Neill is assistant editor of spiked (www.spiked-online.com).

Primary Patriots

GOP immigration reformers begin a long march.

By W. James Antle III

THE RESURGENCE OF the immigration debate ought to be good news for Republicans. The party's conservative base overwhelmingly favors stronger border enforcement, a concerted effort to curtail illegal immigration, and reduction of legal entries to a more manageable level. Polls repeatedly demonstrate that each of these positions also commands majority support from the broader electorate. Given these facts, you might expect these issues to figure prominently on the GOP agenda.

Instead immigration has been at the center of the party's most contentious intramural struggles this year. Some Republican leaders wish that the whole subject would just go away, if for no other reason than it pits them against the rank and file.

"It's an example of why we're called the Stupid Party," fumed one Arizona conservative activist who is far from a restrictionist. In the Grand Canyon State, the GOP's internal strife over immigration has played out in two surprisingly strong challenges to popular incumbents and a statewide ballot initiative modeled after California's Proposition 187, but modified to withstand court challenges.

Ten-term Congressman Jim Kolbe (R-Ariz.) had to defend his seat against state Rep. Randy Graf, a majority whip in the Arizona house, in a race that heavily focused on the incumbent's support for a guest-workers program along the lines of the Bush administration's. Graf bolstered his bid with his conservative credentials on other issues. While Kolbe

is a noted social liberal, Graf took strong stands against abortion and same-sex marriage.

After the primary results rolled in, one newspaper blared, "Kolbe easily gives Graf the heave-ho." This headline was a bit too congratulatory. Although Kolbe prevailed with 57 percent of the vote, Graf's 43 percent was the best performance of any of his past primary foes. The congressman typically dispatches rivals by a three-to-one margin. Graf carried Cochise County, drawing 53 percent of the vote.

Congressman Jeff Flake (R-Ariz.), who has often been touted as a possible conservative primary challenger to Sen. John McCain, also drew fire for his high-profile support for guest workers. His opponent, former state legislator Stan Barnes, managed to poll nearly 41 percent in the primary.

If anything, these unusually strong but ultimately unsuccessful showings understate the salience of immigration among Arizonans. Proposition 200, dubbed the Protect Arizona Now initiative by its sponsors, is a referendum on requiring proof of citizenship for voting and the receipt of any public benefits that are not federally mandated. (Supporters say this precision will allow it to avoid being overturned like California's Proposition 187.) This question allows the voters to express their will on illegal immigration directly, without the complicating factors of other issues and congressional incumbency.

Here's what they're likely to say: an *Arizona Republic* poll found that the

initiative had the support of 66 percent of the state's voters. Republicans favor it by a nine to one margin, Democrats by three-to-one. But the state's two GOP senators, McCain and John Kyl, and the entire Republican congressional delegation have joined the Arizona Chamber of Commerce in opposition. Some see shades of the party establishment's reticence during a similar California debate a decade ago. "It's that perception that Proposition 187 was political suicide [for Republicans]," the Phoenix activist observed.

But Republican support for the immigration *status quo* throughout the country is not without its own political consequences. In May, delegates to the Utah Republican State Convention forced Congressman Chris Cannon into a primary runoff due to his prominent cosponsorship of guest-workers legislation. Americans for Better Immigration rated Cannon's immigration voting record an F minus. His opponent, former state Sen. Matt Throckmorton, by contrast headed the group Utahans for Immigration Reform.

The usually safe incumbent had to hustle to keep his seat. He ultimately pulled off a victory, but Throckmorton managed to win 42 percent of the vote. The challenger nevertheless expressed concern to the local media that his loss would hurt efforts to control illegal immigration.

As if to prove his point, the *Wall Street Journal* triumphantly editorialized that Cannon's renomination was the "Throckmorton thumping," a sign that immigration reform is not a winning issue.

Throckmorton supporters were labeled “a motley band of population-control zealots and nativists” who “spent tens of thousands” trying to unseat Cannon. What the editorial did not mention was that Cannon actually outspent Throckmorton nine-to-one and tried to tie him to groups that support abortion as a form of population control, a wildly unpopular stance in predominantly Mormon Utah.

To be sure, experience has shown that this one issue can only carry a campaign so far. But it is nonetheless significant that upstart challengers running mainly on immigration continually receive at least 40 percent of the primary vote against well-funded, media-savvy, and otherwise popular incumbents.

Anti-establishment insurgents have moved their political parties before. By the late 1970s, determined antiwar activists succeeded in shifting the Democrats’ center of gravity on foreign policy. Similar persistence by restrictionists could succeed in altering GOP orthodoxy on immigration policy.

Reformers have not been without successes during this election cycle. In Kansas, Kris Kobach edged out party favorite Adam Taff in the primary for the state’s third congressional district. Congressman Johnny Isakson, a member of the Congressional Immigration Reform Caucus, won the Republican nomination for the U.S. Senate from Georgia and is the heavy favorite to win in November.

Moreover, the cost of the Republican establishment’s reluctance to work with immigration critics in Illinois continues to manifest itself. The state GOP could have been spared a national search for a replacement Senate candidate that yielded Marylander Alan Keyes if it had simply turned to the second-place primary finisher after Jack Ryan dropped out. The consensus is that they didn’t do so because that candidate was Jim

Oberweis, who had taken a strong stand against the Bush amnesty plan during his run.

Oberweis had high name recognition from his family’s dairy business, the funds to finance his own campaign, and a significant following among Republican voters. Indeed, House Speaker Dennis Hastert had supported him in a previous bid for public office. But, Hastert told the *Beacon News*, Oberweis “is trying to demagogue the immigration thing.” There is no guarantee, of course, that Oberweis would have been able to gain traction against the attractive Democratic nominee, Barack Obama, who has become something of a political superstar. But the polls up to this point have made it clear that Keyes, the party central committee’s choice, is lagging badly.

Chicago-based immigration reform activist Dave Gorak was not surprised by this turn of events. When stating his case on these issues, both on his own and in his capacity as the executive director of the Midwest Coalition to Reduce Immigration, he has often run into a wall of silence from Republican elected officials. “It’s childish really,” he said. “I don’t think there’s any question that if it weren’t for immigration, Oberweis would be the candidate.”

He recalled that he once tried to arrange a photo-op with a generally sympathetic Republican state legislator and some workers displaced by liberal visa policies. The official ultimately decided it was not in his political best interest to go through with the meeting. His reasoning?

“He said I was too angry,” the amiable Gorak laughed. He noted that some politicians find immigration too controversial an issue for people in a field that rewards caution and aversion to conflict.

Reformers lament that while supporters of reduced legal immigration and meaningful border enforcement have strength in numbers, advocates for cheap

labor have more funding and focus. They also carry more weight with the business wing of the Republican Party.

GOP leaders do not always take kindly to their peers using their influence to counter that lucrative faction. *The Hill* recently reported that Congressman Tom Tancredo (R-Colo.), a prominent voice for immigration reform, was chastised by House Majority Leader Tom DeLay (R-Texas) for his involvement with the Team America PAC. This political action committee has targeted incumbent open-borders GOP congressmen for defeat.

This is not the first time Ronald Reagan’s “11th Commandment” (thou shalt not speak ill of a fellow Republican) has been invoked to cool such intra-party debates. Republicans who have found themselves on the wrong end of primary blitzes by Club for Growth or various social-conservative organizations have cried foul before. But the difference is that supply-siders and proliferators are formally accepted as a part of the GOP coalition in a way that immigration reformers are not. The Republican platform is steadfast in its support for the Bush tax cuts and contains planks calling for constitutional amendments against abortion and gay marriage. The best immigration reformers got was nominal opposition to amnesty balanced against an actual endorsement of the White House guest-workers proposal.

Yet they clearly represent an identifiable wing of the party. The ranks of immigration reformers in Congress have quietly been growing. Nearly a third of the House Republican Conference belongs to Tancredo’s Immigration Reform Caucus. And in an era where national security and jobs top public concerns, the issues of immigration and border security are not likely to go away.

The only question that remains is whether Republicans want to be seen as a party that addresses them. ■

[passing notes]

Behind the Franklin Affair

The FBI's unsung battle with the Israel-firsters

By Philip Giraldi

A RICH VEIN of information has been opened up by the Franklin affair—a case that shines a bright light on the complex and troubling relationship between the United States and its main (and by now its only) Mideast ally, Israel. According to the FBI, Larry Franklin, a mid-level Pentagon analyst, passed a classified document to contacts at the American Israel Political Action Committee (AIPAC). The document was in turn forwarded by AIPAC to the Israeli Embassy.

While the naïve Franklin—whose actions probably don't qualify as classic espionage—may be little more than a bit player, the case has broader resonance because it involves Undersecretary of Defense Douglas Feith's controversial Office of Special Plans (OSP), a semi-secret Pentagon bureau that was set up to provide analytical support for the war against Iraq and has long been known to leak.

The Franklin case stems from investigations of Israeli diplomats that developed from the prosecution of spy Jonathan Pollard. Pollard's conviction in 1987 provided little in the way of a resolution: the Israeli government never cooperated in the inquiry and did not provide an inventory of the documents that Pollard had stolen. The FBI also knew that a second spy, believed to be in the Pentagon, passed Pollard classified file numbers that were desired by the Israelis. Hoping to catch the second spy, the FBI continued its probe.

Two years ago, investigators began to suspect that highly sensitive National Security Agency documents were winding up in Israeli hands, possibly with the connivance of AIPAC. In the judgment of counterintelligence specialists, the Israelis did not wish a repeat of the Pollard case, so they decided against recruiting another U.S. official and turning him into a salaried spy. Instead, they opted to establish relationships with friends in the government who would voluntarily provide information. The difference in the two relationships may appear minor, but it provides the Israelis with plausible deniability, permitting them to claim that any information passed in a casual context was inadvertent. AIPAC would have served as a useful intermediary or "cut out" in such an arrangement, limiting the contact between the American government official and the Israeli Embassy.

Franklin came to the FBI's attention and became a "person of interest" when he joined a lunch involving a lobbyist for AIPAC and an Israeli Embassy official identified as the Mossad Chief of Station Naor Gilon. The FBI was monitoring the meeting and may have had a microphone in place to record the conversation. Franklin's contact with Israeli officials might have been authorized by his superiors at the Pentagon, though it is not clear whether or not he exceeded his brief.

Franklin's personal involvement with Israel and Iran policy dates back to 2001,

when he was included in meetings with Iranian dissident Manucher Ghorbanifar of Iran-Contra fame. Franklin met with Ghorbanifar in Rome together with OSP colleague Harold Rhode in a meeting that was arranged by fellow neocon Michael Ledeen. The reported purpose of the meeting was to probe opportunities to provide support to anti-regime elements in Iran. A second meeting followed. Unfortunately, the meetings were not co-ordinated with the State Department over the policy issues involved, or with the CIA, even though they amounted to a covert intelligence operation. A CIA source states unambiguously, "Ghorbanifar is and was an Israeli agent. Anything proposed by Ghorbanifar would have originated in Tel Aviv." Press reports also suggest that Ledeen had previously been regarded by the CIA as an Israeli agent of influence when living in Rome working for *The New Republic*. It is now believed that the Pentagon was launching its own Iran initiative relying on the Ledeen-Ghorbanifar connection, possibly with a bit of nudging from Israel. The Ghorbanifar meetings are currently being investigated by the Senate Select Intelligence Committee and the House Judiciary Committee.

The FBI believes that Larry Franklin passed to the Israelis, through AIPAC, a draft Presidential Decision Directive that had been prepared by the Pentagon outlining both what was known about the Iranian nuclear program and avail-

able policy options towards Tehran. The document would be useful for Israel because it would enable Tel Aviv to weigh in on the process and exploit the divisions in the administration to support the hard-line Pentagon view, which is essentially identical to the Israeli position. Having the document would also enable the Israelis to lobby more effectively for military action against Iran. By that reasoning, AIPAC and Israel were most likely given the document by Franklin to solicit their input, not because they were unaware of the policy debate.

The Franklin investigation was carried out by an elite FBI unit that investigates Israeli espionage involving American officials. The unit is understandably controversial and far from career enhancing. The attorney general's office frequently fails to support the FBI's investigators because it is reluctant to prosecute Israelis or friends of Israel, fearing a backlash from Congress and the White House. Based on past experience, the FBI focuses on American government officials who believe that passing information to the Israeli government is acceptable because American and Israeli security interests are supposedly identical.

Four of the principal neocons have in the past been accused of illegally providing classified information to Israel, though none was ever prosecuted and the charges have not hurt their careers. In 1970, the FBI recorded Richard Perle discussing classified information with an Israeli Embassy official. Stephen Bryen, then a Senate Foreign Relations Committee staffer and later Perle's deputy at DOD, narrowly avoided indictment in 1979 after he was overheard offering classified documents to an Israeli Embassy official. Doug Feith, who in a position paper prepared for Likud Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu called for "a clean break from the

peace process," was fired in 1982 from the National Security Council on suspicion of passing confidential documents to the Israeli Embassy—only to be immediately re-hired by Perle at the Pentagon. Paul Wolfowitz, the *Jerusalem Post's* Man of the Year for 2002, was investigated in 1978 over charges that he had provided a classified document to the Israeli Embassy by way of AIPAC.

The presumed role of AIPAC in the Franklin contact is somewhat elusive. With 85,000 members, a staff of 165, and a \$33.4 million annual budget, AIPAC is one of Washington's most influential lobbies. Over the last two election cycles, its 50 board members have, on average, each contributed \$72,000 to political campaigns and committees, and its director, Martin Indyk, was named U.S. ambassador to Israel in 1995 even though he was not an American citizen.

PRINCIPAL NEOCONS HAVE BEEN ACCUSED OF ILLEGALLY PROVIDING CLASSIFIED INFORMATION TO ISRAEL. NONE WAS EVER PROSECUTED.

Some in the Jewish community object to the organization's forceful tactics and close ties to the Likud Party—in one memorable exchange, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin testily asked AIPAC to concentrate on lobbying Congress and leave policy-making and the White House alone. Nevertheless, AIPAC is undeniably effective and enjoys a prominent place in the Washington power structure.

AIPAC was reportedly planning a Fall-Winter 2004-5 ad campaign to support stronger action by the U.S. against Tehran. But because of the Franklin embarrassment, the PR effort has been placed on hold. Two AIPAC officials, Steven Rosen and Keith Weissman, are reported to be persons of interest in the

Franklin investigation and are co-operating. AIPAC is raising a special defense fund through an e-mail campaign.

At the same time, AIPAC and some of its supporters have started suggesting that the FBI and CIA are pursuing a vendetta against Israel, the Pentagon neocons, and possibly Jews in general. The neoconservatives have also lashed out in a memo drafted by Michael Rubin of the American Enterprise Institute, alleging that the probe is motivated by anti-Semitism.

As part of the investigation, the FBI has also been tracking a number of other leaks out of the Pentagon, most believed to have originated in the OSP. In 2003, a classified document containing raw information on the purported links between Saddam Hussein and al-Qaeda was given to the *Weekly Standard*. It became the core of a feature

article and eventually a book seeking to demonstrate a relationship between Iraq and bin Laden. The CIA protested that much of the information in the report was highly sensitive and asked for an inquiry, but there has been little follow-up, reportedly because numerous OSP staffers had access to the document and the trail is cold.

Much more damaging is the leak of intelligence to the Pentagon's favorite Iraqi, Ahmad Chalabi, a convicted embezzler and at one-time top choice to run postwar Iraq. The CIA believes that he is an agent of the Iranian government. The FBI also suspects that Chalabi, who regularly met with OSP staffers, passed to Iran sensitive information relating to the U.S. ability to decrypt and read Iranian

diplomatic communications. The Iranians responded to the leak by changing their encryption systems, depriving the U.S. intelligence community of a major resource. The FBI believes that Chalabi was given the information by one of his contacts in Feith's office, and the investigation is continuing.

counterintelligence official reports that the Bush administration in particular has opened the floodgates of Israeli spying by permitting Mossad to conduct operations against Hamas and other terrorist groups within the United States. No other foreign intelligence organization has ever been given such access.

ASHCROFT HAS REFUSED TO AUTHORIZE ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE OF A NEOCONSERVATIVE IN THE VICE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE.

According to FBI sources, the OSP is pressing for a full-scale U.S. military assault on Iran's nuclear facilities, followed by forcible regime change in Tehran. Such an assault would require large-scale B-52 and cruise-missile strikes to eliminate hardened or underground Iranian nuclear facilities, an attack beyond the capabilities of Israel's fighter-bombers. The plan has been strongly opposed by Colin Powell's State Department and the National Security Council.

A related point of contention is the Mujaheddin Khalq, an Iraqi-based Iranian dissident force that had been supported by Saddam Hussein. While the State Department insists the Mujaheddin is a terrorist group and should be treated as such, the Pentagon, insisting the group can be used to pressure Iran, has still not disarmed it, and the Mujaheddin Khalq continues to operate out of a camp near Mosul.

The FBI's annual report on spying inside the United States consistently identifies Israel as the "friendly" country that is most active in its espionage efforts directed against American politicians and U.S. security organizations. Israel also aggressively acquires advanced military and commercial technologies, some of which it then re-exports to American rivals like China. A

The White House hopes to avoid any collateral damage from Franklin in the lead-up to the November elections. It intends to forestall any thorough inquiry into Israeli espionage, particularly if administration officials might be involved, and is taking steps to slow down the investigation. When the Franklin story broke, Attorney General John Ashcroft turned the case over to U.S. District Attorney Paul McNulty, a reported Republican loyalist. McNulty immediately ordered the FBI not to proceed with any arrests while he reviewed the case. FBI officials close to the case believe this was done deliberately to impede the investigative process. In a possibly related investigation, a senior FBI official states that Ashcroft has refused to authorize electronic surveillance of a neoconservative in the vice president's office who is also suspected of providing classified information to Israel.

The final mystery in the Franklin investigation is just how the story leaked. The information on the investigation was given to CBS's "60 Minutes" by an unnamed source in the government presumed to be an FBI officer. "60 Minutes" was still fact-checking the story when it learned that another news organization was also preparing to report on the matter and might do so immediately, so it broke the story prematurely. The FBI

has admitted that the news broadcast stopped the ongoing investigation that was underway with Franklin's co-operation, including a planned sting operation that could have directly implicated both AIPAC and the Israeli Embassy in the transfer of classified documents. The leak of the story was therefore very good news for both AIPAC and the Israelis as it warned them of what was afoot. The Anti-Defamation League's Abe Foxman entered the fray, demanding to know the source of the leak, a move that could backfire since such a revelation might show that the leak was designed to stop the investigation, not to smear AIPAC and the Israelis as Foxman suggests. ■

Philip Giraldi, a former CIA officer, is a partner in Cannistraro Associates, an international security consultancy.

MOVING?

Changing your address?

Simply go to **The American Conservative** website, www.amconmag.com. Click "subscribe" and then click "address change."

To access your account make sure you have your TAC mailing label. You may also subscribe or renew online.

If you prefer to mail your address change send your TAC label with your new address to:

The American Conservative
Subscription Department
P.O. Box 9030
Maple Shade, NJ 08052-9030

Things Fall Apart

The coming fracture of the free-trade coalition

By Ian Fletcher

OFFSHORING OF AMERICAN JOBS has recently grabbed headlines as a political flashpoint. But judging by the responses of both parties, the powers that be consider it just another annoying issue that changes nothing fundamental and should be handled the way political issues usually are: by jockeying for advantage within the existing policy consensus.

The Democrats, specifically John Kerry, have sought to make the smallest policy proposals sufficient to position themselves as the good guys for those voters who care about the issue. The Republicans, because they are in office, must defend a *status quo* that they are no more or less responsible for than the Democrats, and are defending it using the same arguments that have always been used for free trade, as if nothing has changed.

Both responses are perfectly rational within the confines of Washington politics as usual. Unfortunately, both are completely deluded because offshoring has already set off a political earthquake that will reshape American politics for a generation.

In truth, free trade is dead, and the only question is which party will figure this out fast enough to collect the burial fee. The key to understanding why it is finished is to be honest about the fundamental way free trade is experienced by Americans as citizens of a high-wage nation: free trade is cheap labor embodied in goods.

Naturally, everyone wants the labor they consume—whether as goods or

services—to be cheap. But a wage-earner also wants the labor for which he is paid to be expensive. Whether or not this is “efficient,” as academic economists understand this term, is irrelevant to the politics. The proof: in American history, there have been long-lived and stable electoral coalitions producing both free-trade and protectionist outcomes. At best, economists’ theories about the efficiency of free trade peripherally touch the way voters actually experience trade. At worst, they flatly contradict it.

What is relevant to politics is that this analysis implies the possibility, in a democracy, of a stable political coalition in which one part of society treats itself to cheap labor at the expense of another part. As long as the beneficiaries of cheap labor exceed the victims in number, this coalition is viable. For example, one could have a coalition of everyone who is not a manufacturing worker (roughly 85 percent of the population) against everyone who is. Manufacturing workers suffer the competition from cheap foreign labor, everyone else enjoys the cheap foreign goods, and a majority is happy—at least in the short run before everyone begins to suffer the consequences of a depleted industrial base. But what if the percentage balance in the coalition is not stable? What if we go from 15 percent of the population harmed and 85 percent benefited to 30/70? Or 50/50? Or 70/30 the other way? The coalition starts to fall apart.

Free traders have a counter-argument here: they tell us that even if we go to 90

percent or even 100 percent of the population being impoverished by competition with cheap labor, we will still be better off because goods will be cheaper. The problem with that formulation—as is intuitively obvious to any laid-off factory worker who has contemplated the cheap knick-knacks on sale at Wal-Mart—is that the drop in cost of living never matches the drop in wages. Like many free-trade arguments, it is qualitatively true but quantitatively false. The mitigating factors mitigate; they just don’t mitigate enough.

Unconvinced? How many people have voted against incumbents because they were unemployed? How many have done so because they could not buy a pair of scissors for \$.99? Has there ever been a demonstration in the streets about the latter?

Free traders might have at least half an argument if inflation were a live political issue today, but it isn’t. In fact, Alan Greenspan has been worrying about deflation, not inflation. And given that the biggest inflationary factor looming on the horizon is the coming collapse of the dollar under the weight of accumulated trade deficits, they are probably better off not raising the topic.

But back to our electoral math: what offshoring has done is to shift radically the percentages of the electorate that fall into the two categories so that the beggar-my-neighbor coalition is starting to fall apart. Of course, this takes time as offshoring all the tens of millions of jobs that can now be shipped overseas cannot be done overnight. What doesn’t

take nearly as long is for the fear that this is going to happen to ripple through the electorate. Right now, many are taking a wait-and-see attitude, wondering if this is going to be just another one of those doomsday scenarios that was supposed to end life as we know it but never materialized.

As a result, the cozy acquiescence of a majority of Americans to letting free trade destroy American wages is going to come to an end. The dividing line between the winners and the losers that the winners thought, as recently as the dot-com boom of a few years ago, would remain stable, has grown fluid. Worse, no one really knows where it will one day solidify again, so no one knows, on a personal, not political level, how to protect himself.

Not much is left of the American economy that is invulnerable to offshoring. There are, basically, these jobs:

- Services that must be performed in person like cooking, policing, bagging groceries, teaching school, dealing drugs, and prostitution
- Activities like construction that are performed on physical objects too large or heavy to be feasibly shipped from abroad
- Jobs like agriculture and mining that are performed on objects fixed in place in America
- Services like the practice of law that depend upon peculiarly American knowledge that foreigners do not have. (Even this is rapidly breaking down as law firms start to offshore work.)
- Government and military functions, though our use of mercenaries—aka “civilian contractors”—in Iraq shows that this can be nibbled away at in surprising ways
- Industries where America enjoys significant technological superiority

tied to local labor pools or educational institutions—also a rapidly-shrinking category

- Owning capital, though not really a job, is at least an occupation, and as long as America maintains a political consensus that rules out significant expropriation of capital, owners of capital gain from consuming cheaper labor and lose nothing.

The problem is, this is not enough. In particular, it is not a sizeable enough number of high-wage jobs. This is largely inevitable, since jobs that must be done by hand, like stocking a Wal-Mart, are difficult to automate to increase their productivity.

So the “I’m All Right, Jack” coalition starts to fall apart. What happens next? The bad news for Republicans is the shrinking of the psychological bourgeoisie, that is, everyone in the economy who identifies with the owners of capital economically, whether or not a majority of their income is investment income. All those yuppie financial analysts who may now get offshored are an obvious example, but there are far more people in this category, people all over American suburbia, exurbia, and gentrified urban neighborhoods.

The key psychological bargain such people have until now had with the system is that economic forces are something that happen to other people. Someone with this attitude can indulge a dispassionate concern with economic efficiency. More obnoxiously, he can explain that the jobs being lost are only “bad” jobs, while the jobs being kept, like his, are worth keeping. This is a wonderful way to congratulate himself covertly that his existence is a worthwhile one while that of a blue-collar worker is not. Thus the galloping narcissism of contemporary America becomes an emotional motor of globalist ideology.

But that party’s over soon. It probably has only one presidential election cycle to go. The bad news for Democrats is that they sold out so completely to free trade under Clinton that they have thrown away their natural position, earned over 60 years, as the party that protects Americans from the rougher edges of capitalism. With the classic stupidity of the imitator, they embraced free trade just before the fad collapsed.

Either party could turn on free trade and thus capture public support on this issue. That figures as politically divergent as Ralph Nader on the Left and Pat Buchanan on the Right oppose free trade is a strength, not a weakness, for it means that ending free trade can be credibly sold to people on either end of the political spectrum and packaged into a balanced pitch that will please the middle. You want a right-wing America First appeal? You got it. You want a hippie sob-story about exploited workers? You can have that instead, if you prefer. You want a moderate and reasonable “commitment to a middle-class society”? Done.

After a few more rounds of depressing job-creation numbers from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the only thing that will be keeping the *status quo* in place is the corrupt bargain of the American political duopoly, in which each party agrees with the other not to make trade an issue. This bargain is intrinsically unstable because of the temptation to score politically by defecting from it, so one must assume one party will eventually renege. The other will have no choice but to follow or face electoral extinction, and America’s experiment with free trade, the longest hangover of the Cold War, will finally be over. ■

Ian Fletcher is vice president for government relations for the American Engineering Association.

Undue Process

Innocents have been entangled in the Justice Department's anti-terror dragnet.

By James Bovard

THE TRAIN WRECKS of the Justice Department's domestic War on Terror continue to pile up. Despite the perennial victory claims by Attorney General John Ashcroft and other high officials, three recent cases vivify how federal prosecutors and FBI agents continue tripping over the evidence—or worse.

On May 7, the FBI arrested Brandon Mayfield, an Oregon lawyer, for his alleged involvement in the Madrid train bombings of March 11 that killed 191 and left 2,000 wounded. A U.S. counterterrorism official (almost certainly an FBI or Justice Department official) told *Newsweek* that Mayfield's fingerprint was an "absolutely incontrovertible match" to a copy of the fingerprint found on a bag of bomb detonators near the scene of the Madrid attack. News of Mayfield's arrest provided alarming evidence that Americans were involved in international conspiracies to slaughter civilians around the globe, and he was informed that he could face the death penalty for his crimes.

Employing Patriot Act powers, the feds, prior to the arrest, conducted secret searches of Mayfield's home and tapped his phone and e-mail. After the arrest, they froze his bank accounts. The FBI's arrest affidavit revealed that its agents had "observed Mayfield drive to the Bilal Mosque located at 415 160th Ave., Beaverton, Oregon, on several different occasions." Another incriminating detail in the arrest warrant: Mayfield

advertised his legal service in the Muslim Yellow Pages. (Mayfield, a former Army lieutenant, converted to Islam and has an Egyptian wife.) In early April, the Spanish police described Mayfield "as a U.S. military veteran who was already under investigation by U.S. authorities for alleged ties to Islamic terrorism," according to the *Los Angeles Times*.

Yet the key to the case—the fingerprint—was shakier than a George W. Bush press conference. The FBI quickly claimed to have achieved a match on the partial print, but, on April 13, Spanish government officials warned the FBI that their experts were "conclusively negative" that Mayfield's print matched the print on the bomb detonator bag. The FBI responded by flying one of its fingerprint analysts to Madrid to explain to the Spaniards why they were wrong. But during the Madrid visit, the FBI expert never requested to see the bag or to get a better copy of the print. The arrest warrant in early May wrongly informed a federal judge that the Spaniards were "satisfied" with the FBI's match.

Mayfield was arrested as a "material witness," thereby permitting the feds to hold him as long as they pleased without charging him with a specific crime. The Justice Department refuses to disclose how many people have been or are being held as "material witnesses" in prisons around the country.

After Mayfield was arrested, FBI agents raided his home and office and carted off boxes of his papers and his family's belongings. Among the items seized were "miscellaneous Spanish documents," according to an FBI statement to the federal court. These supposedly incriminating papers turned out to be the Spanish homework of Mayfield's son. Perhaps elite FBI investigators suspected that "Hola, Paco. Como Estas?" was a secret code.

Though the FBI never possessed anything on Mayfield aside from a misidentified fingerprint, it did not hesitate to cast him in sinister colors. The FBI informed a federal judge: "It is believed that Mayfield may have traveled under a false or fictitious name." But Mayfield, whose passport expired the previous year, insisted he had not left the country. The FBI apparently never bothered to check whether Mayfield had been absent from the U.S. before making one of the most high-profile terrorism arrests of the year.

On May 20, after Spanish authorities announced that they had found a clean match with the fingerprint, the Justice Department acquiesced to Mayfield's release. A few weeks later, Attorney General Ashcroft informed the Senate Judiciary Committee that his case vindicated the American system of justice: "As a matter of fact, the pride of our system is that people are found innocent because we adjudicate these things."

But there was effectively no adjudication in this case because Mayfield was classified as a “material witness”—which meant that the feds could hold him as long as they chose, or at least until his detention became too embarrassing. Ashcroft also testified, “When we learned that the reservations of the Spanish were so substantial, we went to the court, asked for the release of Mr. Mayfield.” In reality, the Justice Department did not acquiesce until the Spanish government announced that they had arrested the Algerian whose fingerprint matched that on the bag.

FBI director Robert Mueller visited Portland a month after Mayfield’s release and announced that FBI agents had acted appropriately. Yet, as a *Portland Oregonian* editorial noted, “If not for the Spanish authorities doing their own investigation, Mayfield likely would still be in jail today.” And sadly, the unfortunate Mr. Mayfield is not an isolated case.

On Aug. 5, federal agents carried out middle-of-the-night raids to nab a pizzeria owner and an ambulette driver. Deputy Attorney General James Comey announced at a Washington news conference: “Anyone engaging in terrorist

fired missile to kill a Pakistani diplomat in New York. The feds used the Patriot Act to sweep up Aref’s phone calls and e-mail messages. Perhaps the most decisive item they unveiled at the initial court hearing was the fact that Aref’s name was discovered in a notebook at an alleged terrorist camp in Iraq (after a night attack in which U.S. soldiers killed 80 of 82 people at the camp). Federal prosecutors brandished the fact that he was identified as “the Commander” and declared that the obliterated group was part of Ansar al-Islam, an al-Qaeda affiliate. The feds’ charges persuaded a federal court to lock up both defendants without bail.

A few weeks later, however, at another court hearing, the Justice Department admitted that the key word was mistranslated. Instead of Arabic, the writing was actually Kurdish; instead of “commander,” it merely said “brother.” Aref, a Kurdish refugee who was the leader of an Albany storefront mosque, had relatives back in the homeland. Even though the feds had been in possession of the notebook for more than a year, they had not bothered to verify the Defense Department’s translation before creating an elaborate sting.

Magistrate David Homer, “There is no evidence ... to support the claim that Mr. Aref has any contact with any terrorist organization.”

Federal prosecutors responded quickly to the translation debacle, seeking to invoke the Classified Information Procedures Act. A statement from the Justice Department’s Counterterrorism Section warned, “The United States believes that disclosure of this material would raise issues of national security ...”

It was curious how a case about a phony plot, an inoperable missile (which the informant purportedly showed the defendants), and phony claims by the government suddenly raised national security concerns. The Justice Department unsuccessfully sought to avoid turning over the transcripts of discussions between the defendants and its agent provocateur. After some of the information was released, “transcripts of the undercover tapes show how much prodding by the informant was needed to lure Hossain into the fictitious terrorist plot,” the *Albany Times-Union* noted.

The defendants were released on \$250,000 bail each, after spending 20 days in custody. Another court hearing is scheduled in Albany for Sept. 15 on whether the Justice Department will be permitted to use the Classified Information Procedures Act to shield its case.

DOJ could use a win, for earlier this month, federal prosecutors were forced to admit that their biggest victory over a terrorist cell was in fact a sham. A week after the 9/11 attacks, federal agents nabbed three Arabs living in an apartment in Detroit. (A fourth suspect was snared in North Carolina.) Federal prosecutors described the men—arrested during a raid in which the FBI was looking for another Arab on a terrorist watch list—as a “sleeper operational combat cell.” Two of the alleged cell members were convicted in June 2003 on charges

IT WAS CURIOUS HOW A CASE ABOUT A **PHONY PLOT, AN INOPERABLE MISSILE, AND PHONY CLAIMS** BY THE **GOVERNMENT** SUDDENLY RAISED **NATIONAL SECURITY CONCERNS.**

planning would be very wise to consider whether their accomplice is not really one of our guys. We are working very, very hard to infiltrate the enemy.”

Yassin Aref and Mohammed Hossain were arrested for allegedly taking part in a plot to launder money from a government informant who claimed to be involved with a plan to use a shoulder-

The Justice Department also misrepresented where the notebook was discovered. The Defense Department did not identify the targeted group as terrorist-connected. Instead, at the time of the attack, Lt. Gen. David McKiernan declared, “I will simply tell you that it was a camp area that was confirmed with bad guys.” According to Federal

of providing material aid and support to terrorism. A third was convicted on fraud, and a fourth was acquitted. Ashcroft hailed the verdict: "Today's convictions send a clear message: The Department of Justice will work diligently to detect, disrupt and dismantle the activities of terrorist cells in the United States and abroad."

INSTEAD, THEY ARE A **LITANY OF CREDIT-CARD FRAUD, VISA VIOLATIONS, AND OTHER OFFENSES WHOSE PROSECUTION DOES NOTHING TO PROTECT AMERICA AGAINST DEADLY FOREIGN THREATS.**

The Detroit bust was the only case in which the feds appeared to have nailed a group that may have actually been planning attacks. But after the courtroom victory, the case began to crumble. Federal Judge Gerald Rosen ordered the Justice Department to investigate possible misconduct by lead prosecutor Assistant U.S. Attorney Richard Convertino and others in the case. The controversy mushroomed when Convertino sued Ashcroft, charging him with "gross mismanagement" in the War on Terror.

Perhaps the most decisive physical evidence in the trial was a day planner with a couple of pages of sketches. Federal prosecutors assured the jury that one drawing was an aircraft hanger at a U.S. military base in Turkey and another represented a military hospital in Jordan.

Justice Department prosecutors knew that government experts did not agree with those claims. Instead, most who analyzed one of the simple sketches concluded that it was a rough outline map of the Middle East, not an air-base target in Turkey. At the trial, defense lawyers requested photographs of the alleged Jordanian hospital. Prosecutors falsely denied possessing such photos.

The Justice Department's formal investigation, released in early September, concluded, "It is difficult, if not impossible, to compare the day planner sketches with the photos and see a correlation."

The most important witness to testify against the alleged terrorist cell was Youssef Hmimssa, who co-operated in part because he faced credit-card and

other fraud charges. The *Detroit News* noted that Hmimssa was "a self-described scam artist and crook." Yet, on the day after Hmimssa finished testifying, Ashcroft publicly declared his co-operation had been "a critical tool" in fighting terrorism and that "his testimony has been of value, substantial value."

A Justice Department inquiry found that prosecutors failed to turn over more than 100 documents to defense attorneys during the trial, including a letter written by a convict who served time with Hmimssa that stated that the star witness had bragged about "how he lied to the FBI" on the terrorist-cell case.

Moreover, Convertino ordered FBI agents who interviewed Hmimssa for more than 20 hours to take no notes during the interview. Instead, he briefed the agents after the sessions with Hmimssa and made his own notes, which he repeatedly altered. The Justice Department report observed that there were "discrepancies between these [Convertino's notes] versions, supporting defense counsel's claims that Hmimssa's testimony evolved over time." The report noted that "Con-

vertino's approach caused significant controversy" and that one FBI agent was "adamantly opposed" to such a method.

Judge Rosen overturned the convictions declaring, "the prosecution materially misled the court, the jury and the defense as to the nature, character and complexion of critical evidence that provided important foundations for the prosecution's case."

These three instances may be only the tip of the iceberg as the government can usually rely on acquiescent federal judges or coerced plea bargains to keep most of its dirty laundry out of view. The public soundbites seek to reassure us that the Justice Department's domestic War on Terror is going well by invoking largely meaningless numbers. In a July report on the Patriot Act, DOJ bragged, "the Department has charged 310 defendants with criminal offenses as a result of terrorism investigations since the attacks of September 11, 2001, and 179 of those defendants have already been convicted." But the vast majority of the convictions have had nothing to do with terrorism. Instead, they are a litany of credit-card fraud, visa violations, and other offenses whose prosecution does nothing to protect America against deadly foreign threats—while the pursuit of PR victories over bogus plots diverts resources from real terrorist dangers.

As the election draws closer, the Bush administration may unveil new arrests on terrorism charges. If so, it would be wise to wait until long after the triumphant press conferences to gauge whether the government has finally got the goods—or whether the busts are simply another effort simultaneously to frighten and comfort voters. ■

James Bovard is the author of the just-published The Bush Betrayal (Palgrave Macmillan) and seven other books.

Dry Out, Move On

When 12-steppers become addicted to recovery

By Mark Gauvreau Judge

THANK GOD I'm not in there anymore, I thought when I received the new fall catalogue from Hazelden, the famous drug rehab center in Minneapolis that this year is celebrating its 50th anniversary. In 1997, I published a book, *Wasted: Tales of a Gen-X Drunk*, with Hazelden. My drinking had gotten out of hand when I was younger, I wound up in Alcoholics Anonymous, then wrote a book about my experience. It was one of the dumbest things I've ever done.

For one, the book stinks. (It's out of print, thus my absence from the new catalogue.) For another, the recovery industry has changed addiction from being a point of embarrassment to one of pride. And as hard as I've tried, including writing *Wasted*, I've never been able to feel anything but awkward—at least—about my losing tussle with demon rum.

Of course, recovery as self-aggrandizement has been going on for a long time. Somewhere in the 1970s and 1980s, when the me-first narcissism of postmodern America melded with the bromides of the New Age, being "in recovery" went from being an attempt to get over the urge to drink and return to the old self to being an invitation to adopt an entirely new set of values, ideas, and even personality—with recovery and its entire catechism at the center. Celebrities like Betty Ford and Elizabeth Taylor opened up about their addictions, forcing the public to get over its shame about its own potted family members.

This was a good thing, I suppose, but then something else happened. Recovery from addiction became more than something we can talk about: it became something we should celebrate, a thing that formed the essence of the addict's personality, a way of life, a reason to have a party. We went from Betty Ford bravely telling other addicts to get to a hospital to celebrity d-lister Tom Arnold not being able to get through an interview—or even a single question—without talking about his recovery.

But should recovery be so ubiquitous in a former addict's life? According to the Hazelden catalogue, the answer is a definite "yes." The catalogue itself is 31 pages long—indeed, among all the kitsch it's hard to find *Alcoholics Anonymous*, the "big book" of AA that started it all in the 1930s. There are, however, recovery golf balls (with a camel and a butterfly on them, "two universal symbols of recovery"), greeting cards, a "dude cube" that registers emotions, ties (camels and steps, as in the 12 steps), pens ("higher-powered" pen glows in the dark), caps, t-shirts, jewelry (at least two dozen types of recovery medallions), a cotton throw ("When God closes a door," it reads, "He always opens a window"). There's even a higher-powered thermal mug. And the books! Books for the woman in recovery, the teen in recovery, dating in recovery, recovery for parents, even a book about cooking for sobriety. Don't worry about losing your place—there are recovery bookmarks with the 12 steps and Serenity Prayer on them.

What has been lost in all this is God. When Bill Wilson and Dr. Bob Smith founded Alcoholics Anonymous in the 1930s, their guidelines were clear: alcoholism was, according to Wilson, "an extreme example of self-will run riot," and the way to manage it was to turn to God. (Acknowledging a willful component, there is some genetic basis to alcohol addiction—at least if the doctors at the National Institutes of Health whom I interviewed for my book are to be believed—though I refuse to use the term "disease" to refer to my extended spring break.)

More often than not, to Wilson turning to God meant the Christian God. Wilson was heavily influenced by the Oxford Group, a 19th-century evangelical movement that emphasized humility and service to others. Wilson was also heavily influenced by Fr. Ed Dowling, a Jesuit priest who was an active supporter—but not member—in the early days of AA. Wilson's writings are stuffed with reference to the Deity, and in no case is there an attempt to make the addict God. Indeed, there are several warnings to avoid that very problem. To Wilson it was imperative that the alcoholic crush his ego and self-will and rely totally on the mercy of his Creator. Many in recovery would point out that the AA steps advise the addict to turn his life and will over to the care of God "as we understood Him." But does this mean anything goes? Apparently so. In the Hazelden catalogue there is only one book that refers to Christianity.

One of the most frequently regurgitated clichés of the recovery culture is that the higher power can be anything—including a door handle. Yet in the big book, Wilson writes, “Most emphatically we wish to say that any alcoholic capable of honestly facing his problems in light of our experience can recover, provided he does not close his mind to all spiritual concepts. He can only be defeated by an attitude of intolerance or belligerent denial.” I may be a curmudgeon, but to me calling God a door handle implies a closed mind to all spiritual concepts.

Of course, many in recovery don’t make furniture God, they make the 12 steps and the recovery program God. Yet this concept of God, separated from tradition, scripture, and even a natural-law instinct that tells us man-made things aren’t divine, tends to make the God the addict. In a way, recovery has become a form of gnosticism, the ancient Christian heresy that holds that the world is a terrible place to be transcended through the awareness of some form of secret knowledge—usually the secret knowledge of a “divine spark” inside the human being.

The secret knowledge in recovery is the AA philosophy run through a New Age blender. Non-12-steppers are referred to in recovery culture as “earth people”—a separation from the world that would have appalled Bill Wilson. Addicts hop from meeting to meeting and memorize the big book not to discover some ancient truth but “to maintain my serenity.” The obsession with the steps and the meetings turns into a program that’s all about, well, me.

The Hazelden catalogue offers many titles that owe less to the gospels—or even the big book—than to Oprah: *When Misery is Company: End Self-Sabotage and Become Content*; *Love’s Way: The Union of Body, Ego, Soul, and Spirit*; *Loving Me, Loving You: Balanc-*

ing Love and Power in a Codependent World; and my favorite, *Easy Does It Dating Guide: For People in Recovery*. The book offers this bit of wisdom, “Dating in recovery has been compared to playing football without gear, running barefoot over sharp rocks, and having dental work without benefit of painkillers. It can be the great escape, bounce you back into relapse, or trigger a new addiction.” You can’t even date without workshopping the 12 steps. Perhaps I’m ungrateful, or just a sourpuss, but I would consider a date obsessing over how everything affected her somewhat charmless. I’ll gladly take the *joie de vivre* of a besotted Arthur-type over a wet blanket 12-stepper constantly checking in with her sponsor.

In the end, of course, AA saved my life.

But a funny thing happens to people who have their lives saved. They move on. They go on to other things. A near-drowning survivor doesn’t go to weekly meetings to relive the traumatic episode. This was crystallized to me in, of all things, an old episode of “The West Wing” that I recently saw. One of the characters is being treated for post-traumatic stress disorder. The doctor tells him that his shakes, nightmares, and panic attacks won’t go on forever. “Why?” the victim asks. “Because,” the doctor says with a smile, “we get better.” ■

Mark Gauvreau Judge is the author of Damn Senators: My Grandfather and the Story of Washington’s Only World Series Championship and If It Ain’t Got That Swing.

One Child Left Behind

Why Stephanie couldn’t read

By James L. Payne

POLICY WONKS LOVE EDUCATION. It’s a great, shiny bulldozer with levers, called programs, and a metal pedal, called appropriations, that seemingly multiplies the power to do good. After all, relying on our own efforts, acting personally and directly, we can help only one child at a time. Using government, they say, we are capable of uplifting millions. This conviction seems to be shared by everyone in Washington, Democrats and Republicans. They may argue among themselves about this reform or that. The Democrats right now are deciding they hate the Bush education reform, but they voted for it, as well as for the alphabet soup of federal programs that have been in place

for many years. Along with the Republicans, they accept as an article of faith the idea that problems with education can be fixed by sweeping national programs.

What the reformers overlook is that government acts through a tortuous process involving complex regulations, perverse funding incentives, and many layers of fallible, self-interested employees. The result that comes out at the end of this twisted policy pipeline would often horrify the original promoters of the program if they knew about it. Unfortunately, they seldom learn the results of their handiwork. Bureaucracy is good at covering up failures, at keeping funds flowing to misconceived pro-

grams, and politicians don't like to look back. The purpose of an educational reform is to get credit for "helping children." In the political world of spin and appearances, it matters very little what's actually happening to Stephanie out in Sandpoint, Idaho.

I'm on the board of a little local independent school in Sandpoint. I don't have the policy wonk's sweeping perspective on education. I deal with children one at a time, and this has given me a chance to see how some of these federal initiatives play out in actual cases. From what I've seen, the effects of these programs stray far indeed from their high-sounding justifications.

When Stephanie started first grade last year at a public school in Bonner County, the staff decided she had a reading problem. They put her and several other children from her class in "Title I." This is the federally funded program for disadvantaged children (so named because it was established in Title I of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act). Each time Stephanie's class did reading, Stephanie and the others were sent to the Title I teacher for special tutoring. After a few weeks, the other children "graduated" from the Title I program and rejoined their class. But not Stephanie. She continued in the program.

As the months passed, her mother, Mary, became concerned. She had read with Stephanie during the summer and had not noticed any particular problem. Yet each time she asked the Title I tutor when Stephanie would rejoin her class, she was told, "She just needs a few more weeks."

Finally, Mary went to the school with Stephanie to see what was happening in the classroom. During reading time, she took a book and sat with her off to one side. Stephanie refused to open the book.

"I can't, Mom."

"Sure you can, honey. Let's just try a little."

Tears streamed down Stephanie's face. "I can't Mom. I can't. They can read"—she indicated the rest of the class—"I can't."

Mary knew she had to take her child out of that school. Obviously, the Title I program was not teaching her to read. Worse, it was building a block against reading, driving a wedge between her

"Oh not at all!" she replied. "In fact, she's pretty bright."

I was delighted to hear it but rather stunned at what this implied about the operation of the Title I program. If this program's only fault were that it failed to give targeted children effective instruction, that would be bad enough. But Stephanie's case showed that the program is capable of inflicting harm, subjecting children to a process that stigmatizes them and retards their social and educational development.

There probably are, still alive today, a few retired congressmen and human-services lobbyists who are pleased with themselves because they passed the

STEPHANIE'S CASE SHOWED THAT THE PROGRAM IS **CAPABLE OF INFLECTING HARM**, SUBJECTING CHILDREN TO A **PROCESS THAT STIGMATIZES THEM AND RETARDS THEIR SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT.**

and her classmates, and setting her up for a lifetime of low expectations and failure. Mary was convinced that her child was not dumb. She believed that Stephanie was being continued in the Title I program in order for the teacher and the school to keep the federal dollars attached to the program.

She came to our school, the Selkirk School, for help. We use a phonics-based reading system developed by the educator Mae Carden back in the 1930s. It looked like the perfect place for Stephanie, but as a single mom working at a near-minimum-wage job, Mary couldn't afford the full tuition. Fortunately, we have a scholarship system, and we were able to work out a financial arrangement. Stephanie quickly fit in to the friendly, "family" environment of this tiny (18 students, two teachers) school. After she had been at Selkirk a few months, I asked her teacher if she seemed mentally impaired.

Title I program back in 1965. They go to bed at night thinking that their years devoted to politics did at least produce one achievement, this legislation that, they assume, helped millions of children. I doubt they've gone to any trouble to find out what, 40 years later, it means in the lives of actual children.

Will the Bush educational reformers wind up in the same place, patting themselves on the back for a reform that actually makes things worse in the long run? That's for history to decide. All we can say is that when you start using government to tell millions of people thousands of miles away what to do, the possibility for error is enormous. The problem is that so few grasp this elementary conservative insight. ■

James L. Payne has taught political science at Yale, Wesleyan, Johns Hopkins, and Texas A&M. His most recent book is A History of Force.

Tell your friends about
The American Conservative ...
the new magazine for
thinking conservatives.

www.amconmag.com

The Dumbest Election Ever

Democrats should face it: they are incompetent. With less than two months to go before the election, John Kerry has yet to address a single important issue.

William Rivers Pitt, who runs the liberal website Truthout, recently vented his frustration by declaring the election the dumbest ever. The entire election thus far, Pitt says, has been about Republican and Democratic TV ads. Pitt lists the real issues that remain unaddressed before the electorate: a war based on intelligence manipulation and deception, the loss of jobs, health care's rising cost and declining coverage, the intelligence failures that enabled the terrorist attack on Sept. 11, America's pariah standing in the world community.

Pitt is correct that the election is being fought over no important issue. Even Pitt, however, cannot avoid including in his list of weighty matters "the fact that military assault weapons will soon be making a perfectly legal return to a neighborhood near you." Pitt is referring to President George W. Bush's intention to permit the ban on "assault weapons" to expire.

It must be something in the water that Democrats drink. Kerry quickly picked up on this "important issue," and charged that Bush was helping terrorism by permitting Americans to own "assault weapons." I certainly hope that Pitt and Kerry don't think Iraqis are being assaulted by our weapons and not by our troops and leaders.

There is no such thing as a separate class of assault weapons. A vast array of items can be used as weapons by one person to assault another. Only an aficionado can tell the difference between

a rifle that was until recently banned as an "assault" rifle and one that was not. I would bet that Pitt and not even Kerry, who served in action in Vietnam, would be able to identify which is which. A political party that believes "assault weapons" are a serious issue on a level with job loss and war cannot win a presidential election.

With the massive fear and hysteria over terrorism that Republicans have whipped up, Americans probably believe that they need "assault weapons" to protect themselves from terrorists, who must be all around us judging by the number of alerts.

By failing to address the serious issues, Democrats are aiding and abetting a sinister revolution in the Republican Party, which is no longer an uneasy alliance of conservatives and moderates but has been revolutionized by neoconservatives. Its new spirit is Jacobin.

Jacobins have the confidence that comes from knowing that they alone possess truth and virtue. They have no ear for critics or even for facts. Critics are enemies and are interfering with the imposition of virtue. You are with us or against us. To get the full flavor of the neoconservatives' Jacobin spirit, read Claes Ryn's remarkable book *America the Virtuous*.

The New Republicans believe that America has a monopoly on power as well as a monopoly on virtue. America's destiny is to use its power to impose its

virtue on the world—especially the Islamic part. This agenda has nothing to do with a War on Terror. It will, however, create a lot of terrorists. And a lot of casualties.

The New Republican Party is a party of delusion. Republicans are deluded not only about America's purpose but also about America's power. American casualties in Iraq have passed the 8,000 mark. Every day we blow up more houses and buildings and kill more women and children; and the attacks on our troops increase by the day. Delusion has such a powerful hold on the Bush administration that despite being stalemated in Iraq, high-ranking administration officials are agitating to invade Iran and Syria. No such undertaking is conceivable without reinstating the military draft. It would mean generalized war in the Middle East and, likely, a world war.

What has become of the bravery that John Kerry demonstrated in Vietnam? If Kerry fails in his duty to force a debate on real issues, Americans will re-elect an administration that will squander our treasure and the blood of our sons in the Middle East.

The conservative movement in America is dead. There is no conservatism in Bush's budget and trade deficits, none in his domestic policies, and none in his diplomacy. There is no longer a conservative press; only a Jacobin one. Hate and delusion have the bit in their teeth. ■

Paul Craig Roberts served as President Reagan's Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Economic Policy. Copyright Creators Syndicate, Inc.

Arts & Letters

FILM

[*Silver City and Bush's Brain*]

Won't Be Out-Dumbed Again

By Steve Sailer

THE LIBERAL-DOMINATED movie industry has mobilized to defeat George W. Bush, but films, even low-budget quickies, are slow, unwieldy dreadnoughts compared to the swift boats of cable news and talk radio.

Fact and fiction don't so much collide as exchange glancing blows in two new anti-Bush movies. The documentary "Bush's Brain" presents talking heads complaining about the symbiotic relationship between the president and his campaign *consigliere* Karl Rove. The *roman à clef* detective film "Silver City," another ensemble effort helmed by veteran lefty auteur John Sayles, features Chris Cooper as a grammar-challenged conservative candidate based on Bush, Richard Dreyfuss as his Machiavellian manager Chuck Raven, and Danny Huston as a private eye investigating Republican corruption.

"Bush's Brain" is based on the well-researched 2003 book of the same name by veteran Texas newspapermen James Moore and Wayne Slater. Like "Fahrenheit 9/11," this documentary climaxes with a moving interview with the parents of a soldier killed in Iraq. While Rove certainly deserves blame for signing off on Iraq, he reportedly vetoed as bad politics neoconservative demands in May 2003

to attack Syria. Rove's crass and venal perspective on foreign policy at least was not as disastrous for America as the neocons' crazed and disloyal one.

The Rove it depicts is quick with a dirty trick, but as the subject for a movie, Rove lacks the gonzo magnetism of his late mentor, the electric guitar-playing GOP wild man Lee Atwater. The film never catches Rove's human side, but, then again, how many 168-hour-per-week political cadres actually have one?

Still, Rove displays a certain intriguing malevolence, in a doughy, tweeby, smartest-boy-in-Salt-Lake-City way. In the film noir "Silver City," the Brooklyn-born Richard Dreyfuss is miscast as Rove/Raven. Although aged and stumpy, Dreyfuss is a leading man by nature, not a character actor. So he plays Raven as just a Mean Republican version of the familiar Richard Dreyfuss Character.

Some of Sayles's fictionalizations improve on reality, though. In "Bush's Brain," for example, a gentle LSU classics professor named Robert Edgeworth fussily recounts how Rove supposedly cheated him out of the presidency of the College Republicans back in 1973.

Sayles reinvigorates these dusty grievances by making the brooding victim a rabid right-wing radio host played by Miguel Ferrer, the son of celebrated Cyrano-portrayer José Ferrer and gal singer Rosemary Clooney. The fierce Ferrer inherited plenty of talent, although I must say his cousin George Clooney got all the looks.

Unfortunately, Danny Huston didn't inherit any of the charisma genes with which his father John (director of "The Maltese Falcon"), grandfather Walter ("The Treasure of Sierra Madre"), and elder half-sister Anjelica ("Prizzi's Honor") were so titanically endowed.

Indeed, Sayles appears to have cast poor Danny as the detective lead largely

to remind viewers of his father's connections to the two most famous hard-boiled private dick movies: "The Maltese Falcon" and "Chinatown" (in which John played the politically powerful rich villain). This ploy, however, just draws attention to the fact that the ineffectual younger Huston is no Bogart or Nicholson.

That Chris Cooper, a late-blooming but brilliant character actor who won an Oscar as the motor-mouth orchid poacher in 2002's "Adaptation," portrays the president sounded promising. I had hoped that Cooper could make sense of Bush's complex personality, which long ago dazzled Rove with its political potential: gauche in public but commanding in private; cocky with peers but intimidated by his father; cunning at politics but bored by policy.

Sadly, Sayles's script simply renders Cooper's candidate as inarticulate to the point of brain damage. You wind up feeling sorry for this harmless halfwit ... and for the misguided liberals like Sayles who think they can beat Bush by claiming to have higher IQs.

By the way, Charles Murray and I calculated from Bush's 1206 SAT score that his IQ falls around the 95th percentile, which the late historian Jim Chapin estimated would put him only a little below average for a president. Sen. John Kerry's test scores and grades are kept under tighter security than the Pentagon's Iran secrets, so there's little reason to assume Kerry is any brighter than Bush, although he does seem more interested in current events.

In the president's lone losing race, his 1978 run for Congress from West Texas, the victor stressed Bush's two Ivy League degrees. Bush resolved never to allow himself to be out-dumbed again. And the Democrats haven't outsmarted him since. ■

BOOKS

[*Miles Gone By*, William F. Buckley Jr., Regnery, 594 pages]

Recounting the Miles

By Ralph de Toledano

TO THE WORLD, William F. Buckley Jr. is a perpetual-motion writing, speaking, editing, and inspiring machine—not the founder, but certainly *par excellence* the major impresario of contemporary American conservatism—writer, editor, columnist, novelist, wit, and commentator whose literary and spoken output is unmatched until we turn back to the 18th century.

My first awareness of Bill Buckley Jr. came in a brief congratulatory note he wrote me in 1950 about *Seeds of Treason*, my account of the Alger Hiss case, which was then perched high in the bestseller lists. It was typical of Bill that in addition to his generous praise he excused me from any reply. My next (remote) contact came when the book that brought him to national attention, *God and Man at Yale*, arrived at *Newsweek*. By happy accident I was substituting, in addition to my duties as a National Affairs editor, for a vacationing Religion/Education editor, an egregious liberal-leftist who would have tossed the book into the round file, dusting off her hands. My enthusiastic review earned me her bitter recriminations. “People will think I wrote it,” she grieved—to her a fate far worse than death.

God and Man at Yale projected Bill Buckley, a quondam Yale BMOC with an as-yet-undiscovered CIA stint, into the embattled community of writers, pundits, and journalists who had been for years laboring in the frustrating conservative and anti-Communist vineyard—to name but a few of them, John Cham-

berlain, James Burnham, and (modestly) myself—and, in my case, into a warm personal friendship that has survived the depredations of the neoconservatives. Bill was in a way *sui generis* among us. Intellectually and brilliantly tough but personally gentle-hearted, Burkean in philosophy (with a bow to Russell Kirk), and pleasantly charismatic, he differed vastly from the ink-stained and Grub Street us, as he marched with the earnest, red-cheeked undergraduates whom he had organized into the Young Americans for Freedom—and dallied with the likes of Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and Gore Vidal without retching.

Recall the time. Identified conservatives and anti-Communists looked cautiously in both directions when leaving their houses and scanned the newspapers for accusations that they had falsified their tax returns or molested young boys. And the enflaming fire came not only from the Left. I remember my mixed emotions when Ayn Rand confided to a friend, “Toledano’s all right, even though he believes in God.” (She was not as kind to Whittaker Chambers or *National Review* when he doused one of her interminable novels.) Bill believed in God, but like only a few of us he could be a close friend of Murray Kempton, then a brilliant, anarchical columnist for the *New York Post*, who aimed his typewriter like a machine gun at twaddling conservatives and even the equally twaddling leftist Walter Reuther.

Those days, the press and academia were night-riding in pursuit of Whittaker Chambers and Joe McCarthy. “There’s no experience like knowing Whittaker Chambers,” Bill remarked, and it did not take *Witness* for him to recognize the greatness of that tragic man. Whittaker was avuncularly very fond of Bill, but he could remark to me, when he was attempting to recoup on Wall Street what he had lost by his friend’s witness, “When Bill buys, I sell, and when Bill sells, I buy.”

Bill fought unremittingly for Joe McCarthy. It was in the course of the battle that Bill and Brent Bozell wrote

McCarthy and His Enemies, a carefully researched and closely reasoned account and defense of the McCarthy phenomenon and examination of the vicious onslaught against him. Since I had been at and on Joe McCarthy’s side since his Feb. 9, 1950 speech in Wheeling, West Virginia, Bill sent the manuscript to me to check it for accuracy. I found perhaps a dozen minuscule errors in dates and such, which were passed on to Bill. He called to thank me and said that he was sending “a little *cadeau*.” Several days later, there was a knock at my door and two men came in bearing a large wooden case—the 12, or is it 13, ponderous volumes of the *Oxford English Dictionary*. In return, I sent him Frank Meyer, who had come to me when breaking with the Party, drunk my liquor, spent many hours at my house in political and theological discourse, and who became *National Review*’s guru on conservative purity.

Richard Nixon was something else. From the Hiss case on, I had been Dick’s strongest media advocate and certainly the newsman closest to him. Bill, however, was in the opposition, arguing presciently that Nixon was no true conservative. We once debated the issue before a large audience. Since the days of *God and Man* and the McCarthy opus, Bill Buckley had moved deservedly onward and upward in the growing ranks of American conservatism. He had founded *National Review*, which seemed like a very small acorn against the mighty oaks of establishment media. Early on he had offered me the managing editorship. “This is the last, best hope of America,” his associate Willi Schlamm—former editor of the *Rote Fahne*, Austrian Stalinism’s leading publication, and one-time revolutionary boulevardier—had urged, which I, as a *Newsweek* editor with a wife and two kids to support, could not quite accept.

In the ’50s, Bill had not yet achieved the status where he could bid the mightiest to his table or sit at it with Barry Goldwater and Ronald Reagan. Though, as noted, he had been sharply critical of

the vice president, Bill asked me if I could arrange a meeting with Dick. Too bad it was not recorded on videotape. Nixon, as always, was impressed by money, intellect, and public status, of which Bill had all three. And Bill at the time had not yet traded pleasantries with a vice president of these United States. There was an awkward silence until I threw in a provocative remark, and then there was an exchange. Then the lamp was lit. So when Richard Nixon became president, Bill was appointed to the U.S. delegation to the United Nations and I was invited to a White House prayer breakfast at which Norman Vincent Peale assured us, "Jesus loves me/This I know/For the Bible/Tells me so."

This may all be inconsequential and personal. What does it tell us about *Miles Gone By*, announced on its cover as a "literary autobiography" of William F. Buckley Jr., as if to assure the reader that Bill's brain, fingers, and computer had not lost their cunning? Were his publishers suggesting that *Miles Gone By* was entering the literary lists as a rival to *The Education of Henry Adams*, a modestly third-person autobiography? Henry Adams, the distinguished descendant of two presidents, a figure of deep historical and philosophical appercep-

tions, was writing less about himself and more about the state of the world he had experienced.

Bill Buckley might do this with a focus on an important part of our times. In affectionate awe and admiration, I have viewed Bill Buckley as a Renaissance man, who could write serious books and implausible, though fascinating, novels; traverse Bach on a harpsichord in a concert hall yet murder popular music on the piano; who could give Kipling's *If* a run for its money; who could as a candidate (so to speak) for mayor of New York give politics a deserved jape by remarking, "if elected I will demand a recount"; and who strode the acres of American politics and the American condition. Of this there could have been an autobiography to approach *The Education of Henry Adams*.

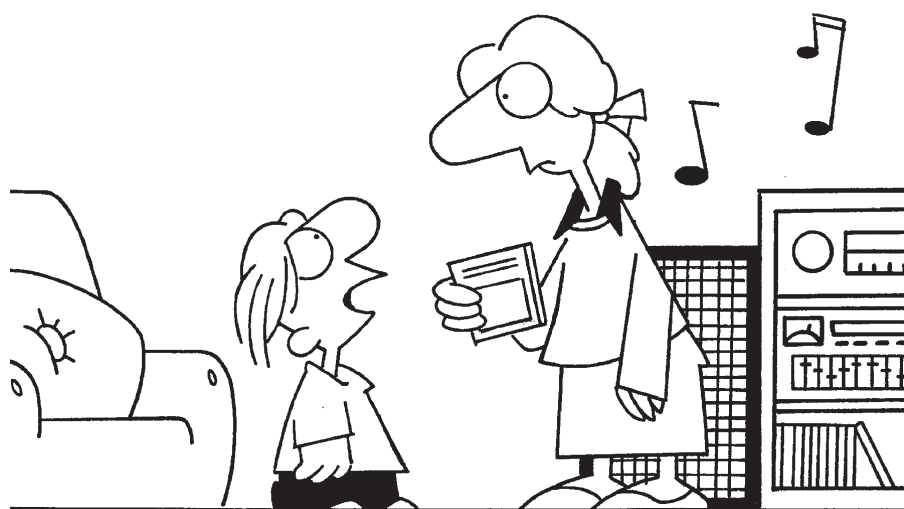
But *Miles Gone By* is something else again. From his vast output of articles, books, and speeches, Bill has culled passages and excerpts that deal with his personal life or with professional relationships that have been part of that life. There are evocations of his extraordinary parents and his equally extraordinary siblings and off-the-elbow trivia about creating a family wine cellar. There are pages on how *God and Man*

at Yale was received, but almost nothing about God and Bill's travail in New Haven; almost nothing about his rise in, and phenomenal impact upon, the world of politics and letters; too much about his joys before the mast, but little about his sailing into the wind of the liberal Establishment. Nothing again of the evolution of the concepts and ideology that he brought into the conservative movement, but there are obituary or retrospective tributes to those, celebrated or otherwise significant, who impinged on Bill's life as he impinged on theirs—James Burnham, Wilmoore Kendall, Frank Meyer, Whittaker Chambers, Murray Kempton, to name a few. Much has been written about Barry Goldwater, Ronald Reagan, and other titans of American politics. But there is still much to know about them, and Bill Buckley could have contributed to such evocative knowledge.

In short, *Miles Gone By* is an autobiographical *aperitif* when what we should have had is the whole roast. Bill Buckley insists that he will not write a real autobiography—is it out of modesty, or is it out of a *post molestam senectutem* fatigue? A part of the autobiography of John Dos Passos exists in the posthumous publication of his letters. But a full Dos Passos autobiography would have told us much that has not been said about the literary world of the 1920s and the Spanish Civil War. Autobiographical accounts are part of the endless rendition of our *divina commedia*. And so, though there is much that is good and memorable to read in this volume, and a reminder of what was once before indited, it is not the "literary" account of a man and his life that the cover alleges.

That memoir, I submit, which would live long after Bill Buckley's many other books have passed on, must be written. That, in friendship, is an order. ■

Ralph de Toledano is a former editor of Newsweek and the author or editor of over 20 books, including Notes From the Underground: the Whittaker Chambers-Ralph de Toledano Letters, 1949-1960.



"I spoke with a social worker today. If you keep playing 70's music, they're going to put me in a foster home."

[*Colossus: The Price of America's Empire*, Niall Ferguson, Penguin, 384 pages]

Standing Astride the World

By Wayne Merry

A SENIOR MEMBER of Boris Yeltsin's Kremlin staff was widely reputed to refer to the Russian people as "the manure of history." British historian Niall Ferguson would not be so crude in his characterization of the American people, but in his new book he rates us as little better than fuel for the new century's international order.

This work is a curious addition to the recent glut of books about American empire (both for and against) in that Ferguson portrays the American "liberal empire" that he strongly favors as scarcely American at all, but as an "Anglophone hegemon" continuing the work of his beloved British Empire. Our deficiencies, as Ferguson portrays them, are in failing to be British; our strengths he never links to our decision to break away from imperial rule.

The book is also curious in that it does not address the stated theme of the work: the price of our empire. Only a few scattered paragraphs discuss what the pursuit and maintenance of empire might cost the United States in resources, while the broader costs in life and liberty are never examined or, indeed, acknowledged.

Ferguson's book is, by his own admission, part history and part advocacy. He is up front about favoring empire in general and welcoming American empire as the necessary successor to his own country's (as he sees it) immensely successful "liberal empire." Readers of Ferguson's *Pity of War* may not be surprised to hear his new work is similarly Anglocentric. In discussing the 1914-18 death frenzy of European imperialism, Ferguson saw nothing beyond an Anglo-German rivalry whose sad outcome was

the weakening of Britain's ability to maintain global peace and trade. France, Russia, Austria, Turkey, etc., were mere stage extras of the conflict. So too in *Colossus*. This is a paean to the shining torch of empire that faltering England is passing to its wayward American pupil. Whether or not one agrees with his interpretation of Britain's history, Ferguson certainly has studied it.

The same is not true of America's history. To be fair, Ferguson is a newcomer to these shores (he has lectured at NYU since early 2003) and is the product of an educational system not known for its attention to the chronicle of the American Republic. Nevertheless, Ferguson's cherry-picking of historical facts and simple misreadings of American history undercut rather than demonstrate his most basic premise: that the United States has always been an empire and so cannot quibble about being one now. For example, Ferguson quotes some of the Founding Fathers as calling the new United States an "empire" to prove our hegemonic birthright, ignoring that the

Ferguson portrays Douglas MacArthur's political ambitions as a constitutional near-death experience, "perhaps the only moment in its history that the American Republic came close to meeting the fate of the Roman Republic." Hogwash. For all his vainglory and myopia, and despite his more emotional supporters, MacArthur was not a traitor. He never crossed any Rubicon. MacArthur might have made a bad president (personally, I like Ike), but it is doubtful he would have expanded the powers of the office or encroached on the Constitution more than had Franklin Roosevelt, or more than later presidents of the Cold War and beyond.

It is not just on American facts that Ferguson is weak. On the 2002 French presidential election he opines, "To be certain of victory in the second round, Jacques Chirac had to distance himself from Le Pen's stance on immigration, and that in turn may help explain why he was so reluctant to be associated with military action against Iraq in 2003." *Quoi?* All Chirac needed to win in the

HE IS UP FRONT ABOUT **FAVORING EMPIRE** IN GENERAL AND **WELCOMING AMERICAN EMPIRE** AS THE NECESSARY **SUCCESSOR TO HIS OWN COUNTRY'S**.

term had a very different meaning for them than it does for him. Worse, he omits altogether the many admonitions of the Founders—from Washington through Quincy Adams—against the very kind of policy he advocates.

Despite (or perhaps because of) an average of three source notes per page, Ferguson cannot be relied on to get the facts straight. A few examples among a multitude must suffice. He states, "Before the 1880s few American businessmen had any thought for opportunities beyond the borders of the United States." He is unaware that overseas trade was the lifeblood of both North and South, the American merchant marine was second only to Britain's from colonial days on, and "Yankee traders" had been standard figures in every market of the globe for generations.

second round was a pulse, as the French thronged to the polls under the stirring slogan, "better a thief than a fascist." Later French policy on the Iraq War was the product of real and imagined reasons of state, even if Chirac's tactics were typically ham-handed.

Ferguson's "Case for Liberal Empire" chapter contains not a sentence about any imperial record other than Britain's. Presumably, he is so convinced that Washington will be London's legatee that the experiences of the dozen empires contemporary with the British are simply of no importance. He devotes a tenth of the book to proving that the European Union will not be a superpower on the world stage comparable to the United States, which may come as a surprise to some readers. Much of the book is not about American empire at

all, but a highly selective retelling of recent events to demonstrate that little of major importance happens in the world today without American participation, which surely cannot be news to any reader.

Above all, Ferguson fails to make his case by his complete avoidance of two questions: what is the benefit to the United States of the empire he advocates and what is the price to America of empire? He sees the virtues of "liberal

Therein lies the problem, as Ferguson sees it. Americans lack the "grit" for the imperial vocation. We have, he says, three deficits: economic, manpower, and attention. Ferguson correctly sees America's chronic deficits in domestic and international finances as the key weakness of the contemporary United States but fails to understand they are the reflection of a society minding its own business. With an almost visible shudder, Ferguson says of Americans,

lions of people while America today does the opposite, but he fails to see the point: Victorian Britain was a place for "downstairs" people to get the hell out of, while America remains, even for its least privileged, still the land of opportunity. He interprets our imperial reluctance as a failure of will, rather than a valid choice by a free people.

Above all, Ferguson is utterly indifferent to the true price of empire in the lives and liberties of Americans. Our soldiers are not government property, but citizens. They are not like Tommies in Kipling's poems, killing wogs for the king's shilling. An American, whether in uniform or not, is a citizen to be led, not a subject to be commanded. Ferguson is hardly the first European observer to want a more exclusive class system in America (Fanny Trollope in the 19th century was especially put out that servants here were neither servile nor even called "servants," but "help," as they still are), but can this educated man imagine we will have one?

American liberties—our true birthright—do not rate even a passing mention from Niall Ferguson. Only a fool could imagine that global hegemony, however liberal or benign, can be pursued without massive additional damage to our hard-won freedoms or that the American Republic can long coexist with an imperial role on the British model. Ours can be a republic of liberty or a liberal empire, but not both. It is sadly true that Imperial Washington today attracts ambitious Americans eager to fulfill Ferguson's vision. But, whether neocons or neo-libs, they at least go through the motions of allegiance to the Constitution and what it represents. In contrast, when putting down *Colossus* I came to the inevitable conclusion that, for its author, the American Republic and its citizens and their liberties truly are no more than the manure of history. ■

Wayne Merry is a former State Department and Pentagon official and now a Senior Associate at the American Foreign Policy Council in Washington, D.C.

ONLY A FOOL COULD IMAGINE THAT GLOBAL HEGEMONY CAN BE PURSUED WITHOUT MASSIVE ADDITIONAL DAMAGE TO OUR HARD-WON FREEDOMS.

empire" as so self-evident as not to require any justification to the country he assigns the task.

In 300 pages of text there is not a single word that attempts to persuade a citizen of this Republic that an empire serves our interests, is of benefit to us, or would return value for cost. Not a word. Ferguson's logic is that "duty calls" and America must answer the call. For example, he presents the failures and tragedies of post-colonial Africa to justify an American imperial role there, but this would only persuade if one were to accept that states are driven by the same moral injunction to be their brother's keeper as are individuals. I rather imagine Lord Palmerston would have greeted the notion with a snort of contempt.

Ferguson's justification for American empire is that we are the "Anglophone" inheritors of a policy imperative he sees as inevitably ours: "Think, then, of liberal empire as the political counterpart to economic globalization." Well, I can think of it but need not accept it as true, nor fail to worry about the consequences. The notion that American power should be wielded throughout the globe as the counterpart of American trade and finance comes close to the old Soviet caricature of "Coca-Cola imperialism." In any case, it still does not answer an American taxpayer's basic question, "what is in this empire for us?"

"They would rather consume than conquer." How shocking—the empowered citizens of a free society going about their lives as they see fit.

On the manpower side, Ferguson has a really nifty way to find "ample raw material for a larger American army": a renewed draft "appropriately targeted" at "illegal immigrants, the jobless and the convicts." No joke! Aside from demonstrating an almost fantastic misunderstanding of the needs of a modern military, Ferguson in this passage shows what he really thinks of America. As the British Empire was manned by what Wellington termed "the scum of the earth," an American empire need only pluck cannon fodder from our prisons to get the job done.

After more than a year on the Golden Shore, Niall Ferguson just does not get it. He presumably has heard of the Declaration of Independence and Gettysburg Address, but their message evidently passed him by while he was compiling all those source notes. He bemoans that American university graduates do not follow their British predecessors into colonial service but fails to comprehend why. It is not a lack of patriotism (most Europeans snigger at our manifest love of country) but a disinclination to be a colonial overseer. (Orwell felt much the same.) Ferguson notes that Britain in her heyday exported mil-

[*Kepler's Witch: An Astronomer's Discovery of Cosmic Order Amid Religious War, Political Intrigue, and the Heresy Trial of His Mother, James A. Connor, HarperCollins, 402 pages*]

Heavens & Heresies

By Gene Callahan

JAMES A. CONNOR, formerly a Jesuit priest and currently a professor of English at Kean University, has written an engaging account of the life and times of astronomer and mathematician Johannes Kepler, who lived from 1571 to 1630. Kepler is most famous for his three laws of planetary motion, the first of which advanced the revolutionary idea that the orbits of the planets are elliptical. Before him, all prominent theorists, including Aristotle, Ptolemy, Copernicus, Brahe, and Galileo, assumed that they must be circular.

While Connor does offer an overview of Kepler's scientific work, that is not the focus of *Kepler's Witch*. The author devotes much more attention to how the waves of conflict battering 17th-century Europe engulfed Kepler despite his lack of interest in politics and his devotion to the idea of Christian unity. Kepler's life was spent within the Holy Roman Empire, in places that today would be in Germany, Austria, or the Czech Republic. That put him at the confluence of the great currents of Protestant Reformation and Catholic Counter-Reformation. Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Catholicism competed for the souls of central Europe, each of them claiming to be the one true Christian faith. The result was decades of war, purges, persecution, and forced migration. Although Kepler disdained Christian factionalism, his scientific fame condemned him to embroilment in the general strife. The various sects were not of a mind to accept neutrality as a valid stance; one was either with them or against them.

The title of Connor's book refers to the trial of Kepler's mother, Katharina, on charges of witchcraft. The author treats her tribulations as an emblem of how ordinary people could be swept up by the larger tides of the time despite their efforts to avoid the deeps. As described by Connor, Katharina was "stubborn, cranky ... and simply couldn't keep her nose out of other people's business." But other than her dabbling in herbal remedies, there is no evidence of her practicing witchcraft. The case against her seems to have sprung from personal malice and survived on political ill will.

It began when Katharina quarreled with a well-connected neighbor, who then claimed she had been cursed by Frau Kepler. This neighbor used her contacts to make sure that the case was pursued. Johannes's unpopular insistence on the sovereignty of the individual conscience then entered the picture. As Connor writes, to some of the locals, "as suspect as Katharina was ... her son Johannes was far worse. He must have been crazy, and a witch himself, a follower of Copernicus and a heretic." Indeed, a small fable the astronomer had composed, about "a man whose mother introduced him to the demons of the air, who carried him to the moon," was introduced at his mother's trial, "as evidence

home in Austria to be with his mother for the close of her trial. She was declared guilty, but, since the evidence against her was circumstantial, she was not sentenced to death. Instead, she was subjected to the *territio verbalis*, in which the convicted party is brought to a place of torture. There, a torturer offers dire warnings of the consequences of not confessing her evil and renouncing the devil, while showing her the instruments of his trade. Katharina, despite the grim circumstances, confirmed her reputation for stubbornness by refusing to admit any guilt.

Johannes Kepler's inability to rescue his mother from what were patently corrupt judicial proceedings, despite his fame and position, stemmed chiefly from his refusal to subordinate his own understanding of scripture and knowledge of God to any received dogma. That refusal denied him a secure home in any of the established churches, and, as a consequence, there was no powerful organization behind him in the legal or political struggle.

Kepler was born into the Lutheran Church. One of Luther's central ideas was that individuals could interpret scripture for themselves. But, faced with increasing dissension between Lutheran factions, its founder long dead, the

ALTHOUGH KEPLER DISDAINED CHRISTIAN FACTIONALISM, HIS SCIENTIFIC FAME CONDEMNED HIM TO EMBROILMENT IN THE GENERAL STRIFE.

of both Katharina's and Johannes's odious associations with the devil." Johannes, however, internationally famous and the Holy Roman Emperor's official mathematician, was not a target that a provincial official could hope to strike. Perhaps prosecuting his mother seemed like the next best thing.

The case against Katharina dragged on for seven years, from 1613 to 1620. Johannes did his best to aid her, writing most of her defense brief, petitioning noblemen he had met during his career on her behalf, and finally leaving his

church devised its own official dogma, the Formula of Concord. Kepler did not accept one of its crucial tenets, the "ubiquity doctrine," which held that Christ is present in the Eucharistic bread and wine because, being God, he is present everywhere. (The Catholic Church, on the other hand, asserted that the substance of the sacramental offerings was physically transformed into the body and blood of Christ. Kepler leaned toward a third, Calvinist doctrine: the communicant received special help from Christ when receiving the sacra-

ment.) Johannes was eventually excommunicated from the Lutheran Church for his deviant view. Nevertheless, he always considered himself a faithful Lutheran.

Meanwhile, the Catholic Church, aware of Kepler's uneasy relationship with the religion of his birth, made repeated attempts to convert him. Doing so would have been a public relations coup, as Kepler was not only respected for his scientific achievements, but also known to be intellectually honest and apolitical. Since the emperor was Catholic, conversion would also have benefited Kepler's career and improved the security of his family. Several Jesuit priests discussed the idea with him at various times. The Jesuits were the Catholic Church's intellectual advance guard, and, as such, they were quite familiar with Kepler and his scientific work. Indeed, Johannes was close to many members of the order, even staying at the homes of several while traveling. Their efforts had enough effect that Kepler said he was willing to declare himself a Catholic, but only on his own terms. In response to one friend's suggestion that he convert, Kepler wrote:

SINCE THE EMPEROR WAS CATHOLIC, **CONVERSION** WOULD ALSO HAVE **BENEFITED KEPLER'S CAREER** AND IMPROVED THE **SECURITY OF HIS FAMILY**.

"Just as I entered my life my parents initiated me into the Catholic church, sprinkled me with the holy water of baptism Since that time until now, I have never left the Catholic church." But Kepler did not regard Catholics as only those who acknowledged papal authority (which he did not). He was willing to call himself Catholic, attend Catholic services, and even keep his differences of opinion with church doctrine to himself. But he would never profess belief in ideas with which he disagreed. The church would not accept such a conditional Catholic.

A second, related theme running through *Kepler's Witch* is that Kepler's scientific quest was motivated and guided by

his faith. His philosophical views are probably best categorized as Christian Neoplatonism. He pursued mathematics and astronomy because he believed they could reveal God's harmonious presence in His creation. Kepler believed such chords resonated with humans because, to quote Connor, "God has planted even deeper harmonies, and the ability to recognize them, into each person at birth." Science served both to praise God and to bring the human soul into closer contact with Him. As Connor puts it, "all his science was at heart a prayer."

Although it has many virtues, *Kepler's Witch* suffers from a few serious flaws. For one thing, Connor's writing is fairly sloppy at times, which is especially surprising since he teaches English. For example, the fact that Kepler was friendly with many Jesuits is mentioned at least three times, two of them only ten pages apart, in each instance as though the fact had not been previously introduced. Perhaps Connor's target audience suffers from short-term memory loss. He describes Prague before the Counter-Reformation as "a glorious hodgepodge of Catholic and Protestant and Jew," but says that afterwards Prague was "Catholic

to the core." Then he notes "the Jews were still there." So did two-thirds of the "hodgepodge" remain, or was the city "Catholic to the core"?

In a passage addressing the execution in Prague of a number of Protestant rebels on the order of the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand, Connor first notes that there were 27 condemned men. Then he mentions that there were 27 coffins. Finally, as if presenting us with a great surprise, he adds that there was "one victim for each coffin." Did he worry that readers might suspect that some of the coffins had three or four bodies jammed into them while others remained empty?

Another problem is that Connor does-

n't always seem to have a firm grasp on the theoretical points he describes. For instance, he says that since Kepler "identifies the created mind of the human being with the two-dimensional circle ... therefore the polygons that could be inscribed inside a circle Kepler said actually existed in the mind." I must confess that I am completely at a loss as to how the first idea implies the second.

The author also seems to have the notion of "accounting for the appearances," which was the Catholic Church's model of astronomical research, precisely backwards. As I understand it, it meant that astronomical theories should be regarded as attempts to predict the movements of celestial bodies, rather than efforts to describe the true nature of the heavens. But Connor's version of the idea is that "not only was the model true. It was righteously true." A bit later, he says that the 17th-century belief in witches "was not a superstition, as some Enlightenment writers would claim—it was a worldview." But are the two categories mutually exclusive? Couldn't one have a superstitious worldview?

A minor flaw, but one that I found frustrating, is that the book lacks of a map of 17th-century central Europe. The story deals frequently with Kepler's movements and a map would have made those passages much easier to follow for those of us not intimate with the location of Moravia, Swabia, Silesia, or Lusatia.

While *Kepler's Witch* would be a much better book if not for such lapses, Connor has still done an admirable job of conveying both Kepler's ideas and the historical context of his life. As noted in a jacket blurb by writer Larry Witham, Copernicus, Galileo, and Newton have all had their day in the sun. Connor makes a fair bid to grant Kepler's his own, while also depicting his life as a paradigm of the challenge that genius presents to orthodoxy. ■

Gene Callahan, the author of Economics for Real People, is an adjunct scholar of the Ludwig von Mises Institute.

Heart of Darkness



Here's a tip to those young whippersnappers Sam Francis calls post-Buckley geniuses. (You know the kind. They call for non-stop war in order to gain

non-stop peace.) There's a very nice place by the name of Equatorial Guinea, somewhere below the Sahara, where most of the dirty work has already been done. Couple of thousand Marines can do the trick, and we'll get more oil out of the place than we ever hope to get from Iraq. No, I have not been drinking.

It's the fiefdom run by that nice guy Teodoro Obiang Nguema, who came to power by overthrowing his uncle back in 1979. In order to ensure that the wicked uncle did not in turn pull a number on him, Teodoro had him killed and then devoured his testicles. I kid you not. Teodoro is reputed to eat a lot of testicles (he believes that he absorbs their power) because he's killed a hell of a lot of people. In fact, Teodoro is the African equivalent of Pol Pot, the Cambodian folk hero who murdered more than a third of his countrymen but had the decency not to eat their balls.

The good news about Equatorial Guinea is that it's the third-largest oil exporter in Africa and has only 500,000 inhabitants, the rest having been driven out or murdered by Teodoro and his uncle, the first president, Francisco Macias. This is a kind of country whose heart of darkness Joseph Conrad could not do justice to. Macias, who was elected *numero uno* upon independence in 1968, used to get nervous among educated folk, so he killed everyone who wore spectacles, a sure sign in his mind of superior educational accomplishment. Books, too, were a no-no, and under him forced labor was re-introduced. Papa Macias used to keep the treasury under his bed. The country's electricity was turned off when he trav-

eled outside the capital, and the only imported goods available in the market were tinned sardines and pink champagne.

Foreign aid during Macias's time was 90 percent of the gross national product, but pink champagne, left over from a summit of West African potentates, was always available. So far so bad. Then Teodoro decided he had had enough. Macias had not been paying the National Guard, which Teodoro commanded, so Teodoro knocked him off and feasted on his you-know-what. Thirteen years later, in 1992, oil was discovered offshore, and suddenly Equatorial Guinea was rich. Actually, the only ones who got rich were Teodoro and his family. Equatorial Guinea now produces more than a barrel of oil per day per inhabitant, but you wouldn't know it judging by their standard of living.

The civilized world, of course, sat up and took notice. It demanded that Teodoro hold elections, which he duly did and does rather regularly. Surprisingly, he wins every time by gaining 99.99 percent of the votes. The majority of what's left of the population lives in extreme poverty, even by African standards. There is no clean water, no sanitation or medicine. There are malaria-infested mangrove swamps, dense forests, and small clearings for mud-hut villages. The peoples' diet consists mostly of monkeys, porcupines, and rats.

This, then, is the paradise that has been in the news lately, the one Sir Mark Thatcher, son of the Iron Lady, is supposed to have plotted to overthrow six months ago. Well, as luck would have it,

I dined with Lady Thatcher recently, and it's all poppycock. There was a plot to overthrow Teodoro, and mercenaries led by an Old Etonian, Simon Mann, were arrested in Zimbabwe trying to buy arms. Mann was a friend and neighbor of Mark Thatcher's in South Africa, which means the British popular press put two and two together and, as usual, got five. Such are the joys of conspiracy theories or celebrity or whatever you want to call it.

Here are the facts: Teodoro, like most bloodthirsty African dictators, should have been overthrown long ago. Teodoro's opposition in Spanish exile contacted Mann, who then put bids out. A rich Lebanese, Ely Calil, and other businessmen came up with the "wonga." Obviously they were not solely motivated by a burning ambition to bring democracy to that hellhole. I don't know many businessmen who are, but backing the right horse in an oil-rich country like EG can come up trumps.

What I'd like to know is why the outrage from some. If Uncle Sam can do it, why can't Calil or Mann? Where do you think Teodoro stashes his loot, having learned from his uncle not to keep it under the bed? In our very own Washington, D.C. Riggs bank. Despite the billions Teodoro has squirreled away in D.C., his country still receives foreign aid, mainly from China, Cuba, France, and Spain. A senior Pentagon official was tipped off that Teodoro might be in trouble, and American firms such as Amerada Hess and Exxon might have their oil flow disrupted, so they blew the whistle on the plotters. Mann is most likely to die in a Zimbabwe prison, as are others caught in EG, but in the meantime Riggs bank is doing fine. Perhaps there will even be a dinner soon for Teodoro. I only hope they don't serve his favorite dish. ■

If You Love Pat Buchanan
You'll Love Constitution Party Presidential Candidate
MICHAEL ANTHONY PEROUTKA



President Peroutka Would Treat Illegal Aliens As If They Are Aliens Here Illegally--- And Deport Them!

Unlike President Bush, Constitution Party Presidential candidate Michael Anthony Peroutka, if elected, would uphold his oath of office, strongly enforce our immigration laws (by redeploying our 140,000 troops in Iraq to our borders if necessary) and move immediately to deport all aliens here illegally.

Because Mr. Bush has failed to do this, he has made our country less safe and more vulnerable to terrorism. According to his own Department of Homeland Security, almost 10,000 illegal aliens from known terrorist - linked countries were caught along our borders. Since two or three illegal aliens succeed in breaking into our country for every one that is caught, this means that on Mr. Bush's watch, because of his refusal to effectively enforce our immigration laws, as many as 30,000 illegal immigrants from terrorist - harboring countries are here.

"I hope you will generously support my campaign which realizes that illegal immigration is against the law and a key national security issue. God bless you all."

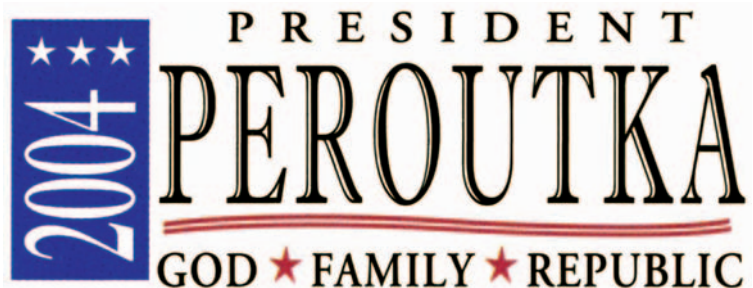
For a donation of \$100 or more, you will receive an inspirational and informative Peroutka 2004 DVD. AMC-BK

I am able to donate:

☐ \$25 ☐ \$50 ☐ \$100 ☐ \$500 ☐ \$1,000 ☐ \$2,000 (max.)

Please make check payable to Peroutka 2004 and mail to:
8028 Ritchie Highway, Suite 303, Pasadena MD 21122

PLEASE PROVIDE YOUR NAME, ADDRESS, OCCUPATION AND EMPLOYER.
Or, you may use a credit card online at www.Peroutka2004.com



Authorized and paid for by Peroutka 2004

www.Peroutka2004.com